

THE  
**OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI**  
VOLUME LXI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

The literary texts in this volume fall into three groups. Of the three pieces of comedy, **4093** offers an act-end of New Comedy, no doubt Menander and possibly from *Dis Exapaton*; **4094**, a grand codex leaf of *Aspis*, reveals small but significant divergences from the text of the Bodmer manuscript. We are grateful to Professor E. W. Handley for undertaking these. **4096** (edited by Dr P. Schubert) presents scattered new fragments of the Mythographus Homericus; **4097-9** (edited by Professor R. L. Fowler) represent mythological compendia of the sort that lie behind Apollodorus and Hyginus. Finally, Professor Haslam completes his publication (begun in vol. LVII) of the unedited papyri of Thucydides in the Egypt Exploration Society's collection: few novelties, but renewed proof that a number of 'late' variants were already circulating in antiquity.

Most of the documents derive from the PhD thesis of Dr Traianos Gagos, written at the University of Durham under the supervision of Professor J. D. Thomas, who has revised **4113-4116** for publication here. The rest have been brought up to date by Rea. Five more documents, all relating to compulsory public service, have been contributed by Professor Naphtali Lewis (**4118, 4119, 4128-30**). A puzzling private letter, **4126**, in which the sender says that he had been 'dog-devoured' (*κυνόβρωτος*) at the season of the rise of the Dog star and that he had sent a one-eyed astrologer to look unsuccessfully for the recipient, was studied by Professor Anna Świderek and has been revised for publication by Rea, who also compiled the indexes.

Numbers in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* series have been allocated in advance to astronomical texts from the collection which have been edited by Professor Alexander Jones of the University of Toronto for publication elsewhere (**4133-4300**). Section V of this volume contains a list of these publication numbers with a short descriptive title for each item and its Oxyrhynchus inventory number.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge once again the efficiency and constant helpfulness of the staff of the Charlesworth Group in the production of this volume.

March, 1995

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
General Editors

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CFLA = C.F.L.Austin      MWH = M.W.Haslam      JRR = J.R.Rea  
 RLF = R.L.Fowler      AJ = A.Jones      PS = P.Schubert  
 TG = T.Gagos      NL = N.Lewis      AŚ = A.Świderek  
 EWH = E.W.Handley      PJP = P.J.Parsons

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NUMBERS AND PLATES

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<b>4096</b> fr. 1-4, 6-9, 12-15	V	<b>4112</b>	IX
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<b>4096</b> fr. 31-76	VII	<b>4123</b>	X
<b>4097</b>	VII	<b>4126</b>	XI
<b>4098</b>	VIII	<b>4129</b>	XII
<b>4099</b>	VIII		

## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
( )	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ἄρ, κτρ(ατηγόσ) represents the abbreviation κτρς
[[αβγ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
`αβγ`	The letters are added above the line
<αβγ>	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 3rd edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 4, 1985). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I. COMEDY

### 4093. NEW COMEDY

8 1B.199/E(1)d

7.5 × 10.5 cm

Later Second/Third century

An act ending, indicated by *XOPOY*, is among these remains of fifteen iambic lines from a play of New Comedy. The text is written across the vertical fibres in a neat, small, slightly sloping mixed hand which is probably to be seen as an early form of the familiar third-century type represented, among recently published papyri of comedy, by LIX 3967–8; I 23, Plato, *Laws* ix, with a document dated AD 295 on the back, is put on the borderline between second and third century by Grenfell and Hunt, as is VI 852, Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, by Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 31; V 842, the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, is dated to the second half of the second century by Roberts, *GLH* 17b; an argument for a date no later, and perhaps even earlier than that, is that on the other side of the present piece there are remains of twelve lines of a document mentioning a transfer of land in handwriting for which Dr Coles and Dr Rea find parallels either side of the mid-first century. An interval of a hundred years or more before the document was recycled would be striking indeed; but it must in any event, one feels, have been considerable. What survives is part of the foot of a column, with up to 2 cm of lower margin. A straight break at the left has removed the line-beginnings (two, and latterly three letters, one may guess), and with them any signs of paragraphoi to indicate change of speaker, though there are double points for this in 3 and 16. Punctuation is by single high point; elision is unmarked in 10 and (presumably) 8, the only instances on offer; there is what seems to be a hyphen above the line in 14. Letter-forms worth noting are kappa with long diagonals at a narrow angle; the diagonals of lambda and chi and the left half of alpha and delta are similarly favoured, as is the curved middle of mu; omicron is tiny, sometimes flattened; epsilon has a long and prominent descender. Where readings are hard to obtain, or to verify, the cause is usually the stripping and abrasion of fibres towards the left side of the fragment.

From the act-ending, no complete word survives; but what does survive seems not to include an introduction of the chorus in the way known from Menander at *Epitr.* 33/169 ff. and elsewhere; it is likely for that reason to represent the end of an act other than Act I.<sup>1</sup>

The new act opens with a dialogue between a young man in love and someone who points to the conflict between the lover's passion and his sense of shame, and argues that he should not put up with what is happening but act, and hand over his father's gold to get the girl. So the plot, or an element of the plot, turns on the familiar

<sup>1</sup> For some recent discussion with further references see Eric Handley—André Hurst, *Relire Ménandre* (Geneva, Droz, 1990) at pp. 17 f. (H.-D. Blume) and 130 f.

motif *si amas, eme*: that is, the story of a youth who needs big money either to maintain a girl-friend or to secure her from whoever else has or claims proprietary rights—or, indeed, for both of these objectives. The literary interest of this short text comes from asking how far we can extract typical or individual features from the detail, and in particular how far it matches plays already known. The reference to ‘what went wrong before’ in line 8 points to a play with a double or complex intrigue, like *Dis Exapaton/Bacchides*; it also does something to corroborate the suggestion that the piece begins at a point in the play later than the end of Act I.

No link with a known text has yet been made out. If, for the sake of argument, it were to be suggested that the piece is from *Dis Exapaton*, a number of conditions would need to be satisfied which the fragment does not itself satisfy; but the problems of Plautus’ adaptation of that play, on which we so largely depend, are so extensively and variously debated that I am not sure such a suggestion is ruled out:<sup>2</sup>

- (i) The act-ending here would need to be that of the Act which begins at *Dis Ex.* 64, where Sostratos has given his father the gold, and is reconciled with his friend Moschos, but now has no money to secure his girl, who has not after all, as he thought, betrayed him;
- (ii) The new act here would begin with Moschos and Sostratos, at a point corresponding to the dialogue of the two young men at *Bacchides* 626 ff.: that is at a point before the second deception is planned. That would favour the view (whatever other difficulties it has) that it is Act III and not Act IV that begins at *Dis Ex.* 64; but then the possible content of Act III as seen from Plautus is arguably rather thin;
- (iii) Plautus’ major changes in his adaptation would have to include not only the reworking into lyric of the young men’s dialogue, but the contraction of the content at the point of the act-break (at any rate after it) in a way akin to his treatment of the Act that begins at 64; put otherwise, if we had any short piece of Greek which corresponded to Plautus’ text at this point, it would not be surprising to find it hard to recognize;
- (iv) If the Sostratos of *Dis Exapaton* could even think of his girl as a *παρθένος* (see on 15 f. below), Plautus, who is rightly thought to have enhanced her role at the end of the play (which has four speakers), must also have done something to assimilate her role to that of the established hetaira, her sister. In *Dis Exapaton* she is *Ἰταμή*, even *Ἰταμωτάτη* (21, 101); prepared to swear falsely by all the gods (21 f.), formidably persuasive (25 ff., 93); but still, even in bitter irony, *καλή κάγαθή* (91); these, however, are the words of an angry man who thinks he has been betrayed

<sup>2</sup> I mention only two recent extensive discussions: Silvia Rizzo, *Da Chrisalo a Siro: per una ricostruzione del DIS EXAPATON di Plauto*, in *Dicti studiosus* [in honour of Scevola Mariotti], Urbino 1990, 9–48; and Otto Zwierlein, *Zur Kritik und Exegese des Plautus IV-Bacchides*, Mainz 1992. More recently, R. Nünlist, *ZPE* 99 (1992) 245–78 offers another potential accession to the play in his paper entitled ‘P. Mich. inv. 6950 (unpubliziert), P. Köln 203 und 243; Szenen aus Menanders *Dis Exapaton*?’.

(*redde, putida moecha, codicillos*); they need not be more literally true than *χαμαιύπη* is true of Chrysis in *Samia* when said by Demeas (348).

The piece is among those worked on by Sir Eric Turner, and as with others I am grateful for the transcript and the preliminary notes which came to me from him. The presentation here is adapted from one given by me at the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 1992. What is said above about *Dis Exapaton* is left unchanged, in the hope that if it fails to provoke further discussion it may at least save a few people from temptation and wasted time; the restoration of 7–10 still presents problems for which no satisfying solutions have yet come my way.





at the beginning of 10. If that word was μέλλειν (a guess), the tense of ἀγαπήσειν is normal, and the futurity of the context may account for ποιήσειν with ἐρυθριᾶν. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* ii. 295 has examples of comparable futures, including Dem. *Ol.* 3 (3).9 ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσειν τὰ δέοντα, where some read aorist; (ii) it may then be that the whole complex is introduced by ὥστε, giving the main content of the sentence, with another verb at the end of 7 to be governed by δοκεῖ: 'You seem to me to be (x), so that you ...'; (iii) For (x), I have thought of εὐπίστωσ ἔχειν, prompted by Ar. *Thes.* 105f (in lyric style) εὐπίστωσ δὲ τοῦμὸν δαίμονας ἔχειν σεβίσει. In fact, since the space available might suit ἐμ]οῖ δοκεῖ[v] 'as it seems to me' almost as well as ἐμ]οῖ δοκεῖ[c], one could have in mind εὐπίστωσ ἔχεις as an alternative. On any analysis, one can wonder why the speaker's style is so involved: is he tied up in his words because he is embarrassed, like Gorgias at *Dysk.* 271 ff., or for some other reason? See Sandbach in *Entretiens Hardt* 16 (1970) at p. 116 f., and the discussion at p. 137.

8 προμαρτάνειν seems to make its first appearance here; it continues in use in the perfect ptc. passive. The reference, consistently with the following lines, is to something familiar to both speakers, and therefore to the audience of the play.

9 ἅπαντα ποιήσειν, like πάντα ποιεῖν at *Dysk.* 765, but to stop at nothing there involves hard work by the lover; here it means theft, as we soon learn. ἀγαπήσειν with dat., as at LSJ III 3.

11 The 'this' that has to be got and passed on must allude to the gold mentioned in 16; it is hard to see how a noun could fit in here. The beginning can only be guessed at the cost of postulating, without warrant from the context, the situation the parties are in. κάμ]οῖ seems possible, but involves a suggestion of partnership in the enterprise; ἐμ]οῖ (too short?), or ἀντ]ῆ, or ἡμῆ]ν; or πάλλ]ν or τὸ πᾶ]ν (both too long?) all offer other problems.

12 λάθρα τοῦ πατρός, as τοῦ δεσπότην ... λάθρα *Dysk.* 578 and λάθρα ... τοῦ δεσπότην Ar. *Plut.* 318.

12-14 The line-ends can only be supplemented *exempli gratia*, including 12 ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον which is none the less here put in; 13 could be χροῖζε νῦν, or, for those who like metrical rarities, χροῖνον ἐμπόει; 14, e.g. οὐχ αἰρετόν, οὐκ ἔστι σοί.

15 f. Possibly πῶς] ἄν, with repetition. Cf. *Perik.* 399/977 f. πῶς βιώ[σομαι] ὁ τρικακοδαίμων χωρὶς ὧ[ν] Γλυκέρας; τῆς παρ[θένου] is hard to avoid, and with it a commitment to thinking of a play in which the girl is not a regular hetaira, but someone like the girl in Plautus, *Curculio*, under contract of purchase to a soldier while still a virgin in her proprietor's brothel, and with a lover who will eventually win her.

E. W. HANDLEY

#### 4094. MENANDER, *Aspis* (and other plays?)

62 6B.78/F(1)

15.8 × 31.5 cm

Sixth century

Numerous broken fragments of papyrus have been reassembled by Dr W. E. H. Cockle to give the remains of a leaf from a codex with lines from Menander's *Aspis*; eighteen tiny pieces remain unplaced. Enough upper and lower margin survives to suggest that the preserved height of 31.5 cm is original, or close to that; calculation from text lost gives an original breadth of some 18.5-19 cm. The first side, with horizontal fibres, is numbered 142 (*PMB*) and has 29 lines, *Aspis* 170-198 (it omits 189, apparently by accident, but has the remains of a line lost by damage from the Bodmer Codex, here 193a); the second side, numbered 143 (*PMΓ*), has 33 lines, *Aspis* 199-231, the written area in each case being about 16 × 25 cm. The handwriting is a large, sloping and sometimes sprawling majuscule, similar in style, as the tall and relatively narrow page is in format, to the Cairo Menander, a leading member of E. G. Turner's Group 5 in his *Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977) where it is no. 227. The Cairo Menander is dated as late as the second half of the fifth century by G. Cavallo and

H. Maehler in their *Greek Bookhands of the early Byzantine Period, AD 300-800* (*BICS* Suppl. 47 [1987]), no. 16b; but this codex gives the impression of being considerably later, later also than the parchment codex of *Aspis*, PSI 126 (Cavallo and Maehler 15b, assigned to the first half of the fifth century): a date in the sixth century, probably in the latter half, is here suggested in consultation with Professor Maehler. A further comparison can be made with an unpublished papyrus codex of the Septuagint from Oxyrhynchus, again reassembled by Dr Cockle; this has the very striking measurement of 15.5 × 34.7 cm, and is assigned, like our present manuscript, to the sixth century.

A first presentation of this leaf was given by Sir Eric Turner in his last session in London, in 1977/8, and his transcripts and notes are used with gratitude here. In *Relire Ménandre* (1990) 143-8, a brief description and comparison with some other copies of Menander was given by me in the context of discussing the author's survival in late Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> In that regard, this manuscript is a document of some interest. Though far from the elegance of a scholar's pride and joy, it shows at least a measure of scholarly activity in the shape of corrections, of an interest in the assignment of roles, and of sporadic accentuation, much augmented after copying in a paler ink. If, as I have assumed, the volume held a collection of plays by Menander, it should have had no less than five. At a rate of between 29 and 33 lines to a page, six pages can be allowed for *Aspis* 1-177, and then 135 pages before that would accommodate some 4000 lines of text, which seems too much for three of Menander's comedies and too little for five before *Aspis*. With the rest of that play to come (if no more) the volume was indeed substantial, and one would greatly like to know what its plays were.

Unfortunately, no encouragement to guesswork on that subject is given by the company *Aspis* keeps elsewhere. In the Bodmer codex, assigned by Cavallo and Maehler to the first half of the fourth century rather than to any date in the third (op. cit., 5b), *Aspis* is third of a triad after *Samia* and *Dyskolos*. With PSI 126 of *Aspis*, mentioned above, belongs P. Berol 13932, containing lines of *Misoumenos*; it is to be recognized by script and format as part of the same volume, as do Cavallo and Maehler (among others), rather than as part of a hypothetical twin; but, that said, no more of the content or order is known. Similar questions are raised by *LIII 3718*, a codex of Euripides assigned by its editor, Michael Haslam, to the fifth century: there pages numbered 198 and 199 have parts of *Bacchae* at 29 lines to the page, which was therefore fourth or fifth play of the book; it was preceded, virtually certainly, by *Orestes*, from which it preserves some text, and by others of undetermined identity, not necessarily, as Haslam remarks, from the 'select' plays only.

The fragmentary state of the present leaf, and a number of doubtful readings in what does survive, combine to complicate comparison with the Bodmer copy, which will be made in some detail in what follows. Recognizable accidents apart, there is a striking variant, not the product of a misreading, namely ἀγνωμονεῖν for ἀμαρτάνειν in

<sup>1</sup> Eric Handley-André Hurst, *Relire Ménandre*, Geneva, Droz, 1990. See now also LX 4018-9, 4021-3.

205; if there seems to be considerable variation overall, it is perhaps not more than one would now expect from the growing number of places where Menander survives in more than one copy; *Relire Ménandre* (n. 1 above), at p. 128 f., recalls a very remarkable example and gives some further references.

In attempting a textual audit, one asks first, perhaps, whether the revisions made in the copy suggest that a second original was to hand. The answer is probably 'No', even if the change of ink and style that can be seen are attributed to a second person. Some of these revisions are simply remedies for slips of the pen: letters added, 171 <á>πάντων, 189 final sigma, 196 ἐλά<μ>βλανον, 218 κνο<δ>ca; deletion, 180 elided alpha; correction, 193 ἀνάφερ'έ' (from what?), 202 διαφορᾶ'c' (for -αν), 204 -θ' for -το, 220 τ'ῶν (from τον or τυ); more interestingly, 171 δ' deleted and replaced by the nota personae for Δᾱος; and see 194, 197, 199, 204 (οἷς), where the situation is (more or less) unclear. While some of the accents and other lectional signs are original (as clearly 200 περιδῆ) it was no doubt at this stage of reading over the copy that others were added (as 219 in ἀλλ' οἴχομαι). It should be observed that (at any rate in the present state of the leaf) the distinction is not always clear, and that the profit of pursuing the matter in detail is limited also by the chance of losses from gaps or abrasion and the apparent lack of system in what does survive; some particular oddities of accentuation are noted on 186, 215 (231) and 211; accents may have diagnostic value at 176, 196 and 197. It is consistent with this impression of trivial correction that where more substantial inter-linear additions can be made out (173, 220, 226; note also 225), they seem to be in the nature of glosses (whether spontaneous or transferred) rather than variants; nor (though gaps may have deprived us of evidence) is there any sign of variant readings in the neighbourhood of places where the text is certainly corrupt or certainly at variance with the Bodmer codex, as at 189 (line omitted), 205 (variant) and 228 (defective in length); only at 224, where νεκρὸς may derive from revision, and perhaps at 199, is there anything which might betoken a second source.

The Bodmer codex is superior in that it has line 189, as already noted; and also in lesser matters such as 185 λήψομαι not λημψ-, 192 τ' not δ', 201 γάμων not -ου, 204 πράττεθ' not -ετ-, 211 τούτων not -ον, 219 θύους' not -ci. The present copy is right against similar superficial errors in B at 175, 176, 181, 194, 211 (not τοιουτον-), 215, 218, 221 and 227; it may be so at 173 (? τι), 188, and in not marking part-division after εἰκότως in 209. Usually the right correcton has been obvious, at least to some people; not, however, at 194, where there was no context to help, nor in the following two lines, where understandable editorial errors introduced complications. The new data offer a fresh challenge; here, together with the good reading ἀγνωμονεῖν in 205, we have the main positive contributions, small but instructive, to the establishment of the text. Worrying, because harder to make out and to reckon with, are places where the text as known from the Bodmer copy will not fit (or seems not to fit) the space and the traces of ink available to accommodate it. At 228, the matter is explicable in terms of

an obvious copying error; but at 179-84, 203-4 and 225 (most conspicuously at 179) there are areas of dark still to be dispelled.

→ ρμβ  
 170 εμο]υγενεσθαιτωνεμῶνκατατοῦς[νομουσ  
 κυρι]οσ'ἀ'πάντων[[δ'] : ωφελεν'τιοῦν : τιγ[αρ  
 πρεσ]βύτατοσεμιτοῦγεν[ουσ·]αδικ[ο]υ[μενος  
 αειτε]πλεονεκτοντατὸναδελφὸν . μ[  
 ορων]ἀνέχομαι : νοῦνέχεις· ἀλλ'ω[γαθε  
 175 ουδ]εμετριάζει· νενόμικε . επαγ[τελωσ  
 οικ]οτριβαμ'ἠνόθοντιν[ο]σνῦν[  
 . . .]ι . διδ[ουσ  
 . . .]πα . [  
 ε]μ[οι ] ἠ . ἠ[  
 180 ] str . str . ἠπ str . . τ[α]ο[ . . . ] . [  
 ο]ρῶν· επειδηδ' . . . str ' str ' str [  
 προσεμ'ποιήσω[ ] . . . . . ια . . . . [  
 . υχίκα . [ . . . ]'ψω[ ] . . εμ[ην]δ[ιαρπασαι  
 .]οῦτο . [2-3] . [3-4]κα[ε]παραινῶδ[σιντινες  
 185 τ]ῶνγνωριμωνμουλήμ[ψ]ομ[αιτηνπαρθενον  
 γυναικαταῦτην· καιγαρονόμ[οσμοιδοκει  
 οὔτωλεγεινπωσδαεταῦτ'ο[υνοντροπον  
 188 π]ρατ . . . . . ρ . . . 'c' καιε[φ]ρο[ντιζειω  
 190 το]ρήματαοὔτοιναιτιμ[εμεριμνημενον  
 . . . . . ὦ[ . . ]σαν[ . . ] . . . μ[ . . ]ν . [  
 . . . . . καδ'οικετη[ 6 ± π]ορηρ[ωι  
 193 ἀνάφερ' . κα[ι]τ[ . . . . . ]παρεμδ[υζητειλογον  
 193<sup>a</sup> χ[ . . ] . . . [ . . ]έ . ω . [ . . ]εστάλ[ . . ] . [  
 ]ε . ὠνδ'ειμεδ[3-4]αιπά[  
 195 π[ . . ] . τασθεραπαίνα . [  
 σωματ]αμεθ'ῶ . ελά'μ'β[  
 .]ημ . [ . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . ]  
 198 εκείνοσαποδημ[ . ]

↓ ρμ. ρμ.  
 199 ταυτ'α]νκελ . . ητιςμεδείξωκαθ . . [ ]ν' ο[  
 200 πωστου]παρόντος· περιδέκληρο· c[μικρῶν  
 ηνηδ]· ἐπικλ[η]ρουγαμουτεκαιγενου[  
 και]δ . φοραν[ο]ικειό ητος μηκέτι  
 [2-3] . [ . . ]ἀγετ'ειςμεσοντατῶνλελυθε[ρων  
 [4-5] . πρα[ . . ]τετδιστοτοιου[το]θ'αρμόςε[  
 205 δοκω]δεσοι . [ . . ]προσθεωναγνωμοει[ν  
 ]φαίν[εται  
 ]αντί[  
 φ]ρονεῖ[ε]ξ[μου  
 βελτιονει]κο[τ]ωσ[ε]ς[υννυμοι]δοκεί[ε] . . [ . . ]  
 210 λεγεινο]μοῦτιμ . [παρ]εξεμοιπράγματα  
 τοιουτο]τρώποντιμανθάνωτοδτοντινα  
 οπτεον]νειηπροσα . . ἀνελθόντιμο[ι  
 εμητις]ἐνδοεστίν[ο]υδεις· τυχη δαο[ε  
 οιωμ'αφ'] . ιο[υδ]εσπότ . [ . . ]παρ[εγγ] . αν  
 215 μελλεις]τίςηδικη . α . [ 7 ± ]εγῶ :  
 ανκαιλαβ]ωποτ'εργονητην[η]κέτις  
 ειτ'αποτρε]χεινδειμιθδονουκεχοντάμ[ε  
 ητετοκετω]νένδονκυο'ύσατιςλάθρα  
 9 ± θ]ύονσιεξαπίνης· αλλ'οίχομαι  
 220 απιωνεγωτ]ηδδυσ . . κακ . . ραξ . . ε . . / . . ω  
 μαγειρ'απελ]θ[ε : ν]ύνδετιδοκῶο[ι]ποεί[ν  
 λαβεταςμαχ]αιρ[α]ςπα[ιδα]ριονθαττονποτ[ε  
 δραχμων]τριώνη[λθονδι'η]μερῶνδέκα  
 εργονλαβ]ων· ὠμην[εχειν]ταῦτασνεκρὸς  
 225 ελθωντισε]κλυκιασα[ . . . ] . . . [ . . ]β'α  
 ταυταστοιουτου]συμβε[βη]κότο κακοῦ  
 τοικενδονιεροσυ]λεκλ[ . . ]ουσαορῶν  
 14 ± ]εκφ . [ρ]εισκενη[ν  
 τηνληκυθονμεμ]νη[σο]καιρόν[παρα]λαβων  
 230 τοιουτονουσιπινθ]ηρ'αριστειδηνδ'εχω  
 υπηρετηνδικαιονο]ψομαις'εγῶ

- 170-198 horizontal fibres.  
 171 The nota personae for Daos was at first mistaken for δ'; cf. *Sam.* 375, 383 in B.  
 173 An odd correction, when only -ου- for -ο- is needed (cf. 218), and with a new error of its own: was πλέον ἔχοντα perhaps once a gloss or a variant? Something above -ὀναδ- looks like τῶπα; doubtful ink above -ελ-. End: τ'έμου B, variously corrected to γ' έμοῦ, γε μου and τι μου; here τ rather than τ', γ or γ', and an upright for ι rather than ε. For B's τ' see *Dysk.* 337 (νυμφόν = νυμφίον) and *Aspis* 73.  
 175 μετρίαζιμε B.  
 176 οικοτριδα and νοθεν and νυγαμου B: νὸν (accent by m<sup>1</sup>) for νυν(ι)?  
 179-182 Stripped surface and warping at the right-hand side of the column make much of what survives uncertain, but sometimes it is hard or impossible to reconcile with B.  
 179 ] . , apparently a circumflex over a vertical; ink on line after η; all odd, and like nothing in B.  
 180 ταυτ[α] is credible; I can confirm nothing before it.  
 181 The acute accents, if rightly identified, do not square with B's line-ending; B has the trivial misspelling επιδη.  
 182 ουσιαν is acceptable, but there is something after it (? εγω) and not enough space before it for B's ταυτ', and hardly even for την.  
 184 Could be τοῦτοις in spite of the accent (see below on 186); if ὅπερ δὴ followed it was widely spaced. But τοῦτον or τοῦτόν [γ' could have been there.  
 186 The circumflex on ταῦτην might derive from a hyphen written above the line to indicate -κα ταῦτην as opposed to κατ' αὐτήν; for this rarity, see on 4093 14. But ταῦτας (sic) 224 and τοῦτοις (?) 184 make one wonder; ταῦτ' ἦν can hardly have been meant, any more than ταῦτ' in 187.  
 188 Before 'ε', right hand side of ω or ο; but ορθω'ε fits the space and traces better than would ορθος, which B has wrongly.  
 189 is omitted without trace, possibly because of the likeness of its ending δοκει to 188 εδει.  
 191 τὸ γνώθι σαυτὸν is acceptable.  
 192 τ' B, better than δ'.  
 193a represents a line lost by damage at the foot of the page in B; we now know it was one not two. The paragraphos should indicate an interruption or aside within the line by Smikrines; Δάο]ς appears to be marked as resuming at the beginning of 194, as suits what can be made of the sense.  
 ] . . , the accent stands over a letter with high ink and follows one with a curve on the line; after the gap, ]έγω, ]έθω, ]έτω, perhaps ]έ : ω. After ω, dot of high ink; end, -λ[η]ς or perhaps -λη[ with nothing lost. For the interjection, a possible restoration is ὡς [ὄπι]εστάλ[η]ς [ἄρα, 'How remarkably restrained!', which would suit both Smikrines' tendency to interject and his dry manner (see, e.g., 33, 48, 391 ff.); but, other uncertainties apart, Daos' immediately preceding words remain (to me at least) impenetrable.  
 194 ζῶν suits, the accent being clear; the diastole of δ' is not clear, nor is it in B, to judge from the plate of ed. pr., but the particle is acceptable if the interjection is aside or ignored, and B's κονδ'εμαιδο[ (the last being left half of a round letter), which had been variously corrected, is now recognizable as a corrupt derivative of cῶν δ' εἴ με δο[ῖν]αι (less likely δε[ίξ]αι), perhaps with π'ρ'α[γμάτων] next, if the interlinear loop over a represents ρ for παρ- not παρ-. It is easy to complete the sense with something like βούλει λόγον, not so easy to see how to go on.  
 195 π[α]ντας looks obvious even without B; but is that πάν τας or πάντας, and—particularly if πάντας—what are the implications for 194? θεραπεῖνας replaces the θερα[ποντ]ας conjectured from B, which then offers εστ[ι]ν . [ . . and suggests 'the maidservants can tell all' as a possible sense, with ἔστιν εἰπεῖν or the like.  
 196 κόματα]α (from B) in this context presumably means 'slaves'; μεθ' ὧν and the beginning of ἐλάμβανον make it possible to see that B has μεθ[ . . . ] ἐλάμβανοντ . and not μεγ[ . . . ] κτλ. One asks how these κόματα relate to the θεραπαῖνας: was it τὰς θεραπαῖνας . . . τἄλλα τε | κόματα? The accent makes ἐλάμβανον 1st person singular or third plural active: perhaps then 'with whom I got the gold', τὸ χρυσίον—referring back to 34-6, 138-41 and 150, and looking forward, as does the whole context, to 391 ff.  
 197 Before ἔστιν, what looks like the end of a high horizontal with traces of interlinear ink above; σημει'εσεςτ[ι] B. Perhaps ετ- was corrected to ετ- ἔτ' ἔστιν, though not a reading of merit, would be consistent with the accent; but in any case there is fresh discouragement for the conjecture ἐπέστης'. 'σημεί' hic de signis ad arcas tabellasque obsignandas ponitur (LSJ s.v. σημείον I 7)' observes Austin ad loc. The seals on the boxes of coins and plate supposedly guarantee that the consignment is intact and according to the porters' inventory; Daos can check with them for Smikrines; and as he suggests next, can list any deals made abroad which



1 Probably ]εγε[.

3 ἀλλ' ἴνα at line end Men. *Ephr.* 868 S. Or κρυετ]άλλινα? (The word not apparently in comedy, but of artifacts commonly enough elsewhere.)

5 Ἰπποστράτη: nominative or vocative? Perhaps a stop at the end, but faint. The name sounds aristocratic (Aristoph., *Nub.* 64; Philemo fr. 69.2 KA). To judge from *TLG*, it does not appear in literary sources; but *LGPNI* (1994) 238 quotes nine instances from Athens in the fourth and third centuries.

6 Apparently ]αῖνα or ]λινα (but metre seems to exclude -λ]λινα after 3): e.g. τάλ]αῖνα. The double point was added by a second hand (it straddles the tail of α). At the end, ἀπολλυε[ ], not ἀπολλυε[ ]. The final trace is very uncertain. If rightly seen, it tells against ἀπόλλυε[ (which in any case makes difficulties with the metre), and ἀπόλλυα[ι (one would expect to see part of the bow of α); ἀπόλλυεο would suit, but we have not found the form attested.

C. F. L. AUSTIN—P. J. PARSONS

## II. MYTHOGRAPHIC TEXTS

### 4096. MYTHOGRAPHUS HOMERICUS

123/67

Fr. 1 4.8 × 7 cm

Second century

This lot consists of 77 fragments from a papyrus roll, written in a neat, round hand similar to E. G. Turner's *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 22. The writing is strictly bilinear, except for φ and ψ; no shading. The paragraphus sign (>—) separates sections; diaresis over ι is also used. Only relatively small fragments remain, and it is therefore not possible to determine the exact height of a column. As for its width, it must have been ca. 8 cm. The back of the roll is blank.

The fragments contain mythological explanations or anecdotes to books 18 to 24 of Homer's *Iliad*. It is not possible to say whether our roll covered a broader span. Many fragments remain unidentified and could (but must not necessarily) belong to stories told in the Scholia earlier. The unknown compiler of this commentary is now called the Mythographus Homericus. His work was included in the D-Scholia of the *Iliad*, available to us in the 1517 edition of J. Lascaris (Rome). Most of the mythological stories are to be found also in Dindorf's edition of the A-Scholia (vol. II (Oxford 1875): books 13 to 24), in a very similar form. Extracts quoted below come from the Lascaris edition, with a few exceptions, where Prof. Montanari's updated text is being used.

Fragments from the Mythographus Homericus are preserved on other papyri, a list of which was published last by B. Kramer in P. Hamb. III 199; she also provides a very useful survey of the topic, with abundant bibliographical material. See also F. Montanari, *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia (Napoli 1983)*, Napoli 1984, vol. II, p. 229–242 and *Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Papyrology (Athens 1986)*, Athens 1988, vol. I, p. 337–344.

A new item should be added to Kramer's list: LVI **3830**, which covers stories on books 7 and 8 of the *Iliad*. It was also found that P. Lit. Lond. 142 (=Pack<sup>2</sup> 1188), relating a story on *Il.* 9, 447, actually belongs to the same roll as **3830**. Additional remarks on this papyrus were published by M. W. Haslam in *BASP* 27 (1990) 31–36, and by W. Luppe in *Gnomon* 64 (1992) 291–293.

Mythological stories found in books 18 to 24 are listed below, with the corresponding fragment numbers:

Passage	fr.	contents
18, 319	2	On the word ἐλαφηβόλος ('shooting deer').
(18, 432	1	Phocus' birth and name: story unparalleled in the D-Scholia.)

Passage	fr.	contents
18, 486	1+2	The Pleiades.
18, 487	—	Zeus' love for Callisto, and her subsequent catasterism.
19, 119	—	Zeus' love for Alcmene; the respective births of Eurystheus and Heracles.
20, 3	—	On the place <i>Καλλικολώνη</i> .
20, 307	—	Aphrodite's intercourse with Anchises.
20, 403-404	3	The origin of the epithet <i>Ἐλικώνιος</i> applied to Poseidon.
21, 194 (?)	4	Heracles' fight with Oeneus for Deianira's hand (?).
21, 447	5+6	The origin of the epithet <i>νόμιος</i> applied to Apollo.
22, 29	7	Catasterism of Icarus, Erigone and her dog.
22, 126	—	The exposure of children.
23, 92	8+9	Story of a golden vase belonging to Achilles.
23, 141-2	10	Peleus sacrifices Achilles' hair.
23, 346-7	10	Conception of Arion.
23, 660	—	The proud Phorbas.
23, 683 (?)	11	On the word <i>ζῶμα</i> (?).
24, 24	11	Conception of Hermes and his relation to theft.
24, 602	12	Niobe's pride.

Of these stories, only 20, 403-404 overlaps with a previously known fragment from the *Mythographus Homericus*; see below fr. 3.

Each section begins with a quotation of the Homeric text that is to be commented on. Then comes the commentary itself, followed by information on the source, in the form *ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δέϊνι*.

The text of the corresponding D-Scholia is given in the commentary. Passages directly paralleled by the papyrus fragments are printed in bold.

## Fr. 1

]ποις[  
 ] δεανεις[  
 ] α'[[ρ]] αὐτὸς ε[  
 ] .[[.]] ν στρατηγ[  
 5 ] ενφυσειχετοτη[ ]  
 ] δὲ φώκη γενομένη[η  
 ] εν. ἡ δ' ε'[[ν]] γ' κνος γενο[μένη] ἔτεκε  
 ] παῖδα δν και διὰ τὴν [μεταμόρ-  
 φωσιν Φῶκον προς[ηγόρευσε.

10 ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ Θεοπ[όμπω.  
 >—  
 ] Πληιάδας. [ ] Ἄτλας [ε]ῖς τῶ[ν Γυάν- 18, 486  
 των μιχθεῖς Πλειῖόν[η] τῆ Ὠκε-  
 ] ἀροῦ ἔσχεν ἐπτά [θυγατέρας  
 ] νην Μερόπη[ν  
 15 ] . ττανπ[. .] .  
 ] . θ' ἀναε . . [ .  
 ] σμητ . [ .  
 ] λογο . [ .  
 ] . αο[ .

2 ] ., low speck next to bottom of following δ, perhaps part of an upright descender ] . ν, speck on loose fibre 15 ] . τ, flat low trace, could suit a ] . ., two ink traces at middle level  
 16 ] ., top part of an upright ] ., first letter, bottom horizontal, δ ?; second, low flat trace  
 17 ] ., top and bottom parts of curve, ε suggested, θ possible 18 ] ., ink speck on edge of break  
 19 ] ., right end of top horizontal, τ or γ

## Fr. 2

col. i  
18, 319col. ii  
18, 486

] . . . . . ] . . . . . κα[  
 ] . . . . . ] . . . . . νε[  
 ] δε . ελ[ . . . . . ] δ[ . . ] εταγ[  
 ] . κανεπ[ . . . . . ] προσαγ[ορευ  
 5 ] αντε . [ . . ] σπλ[ . . . ] . νοσειδ[  
 ] . ητουγτων[ . . ] . αὐτῶ ε[  
 ] . [ . . ] βολειων > εἶδον α[  
 ] τατον > νας ὑπο[  
 Ἄρτέ]μιδι τα[θ]τα τῶ Διῖ . [ .  
 10 ] ν θεὸν και Ζεὺς κατ[ελεήσας αὐτὰς πε-]  
 ] . ἐν[τε] ἔθεν εν λειάδα[ε] ποίησε  
 ] λαιαν και αχμαι διὰ τὴν α[  
 ἐλαφη] βόλον κληθῆν[α]ι γων κατ[ηστέρειεν  
 ] ἐλάφων ἀναιρ[ . ] μίαν τῶ[ν  
 15 ἡ δ' ἱστορία] παρὰ [Cω]κράτει[ . ] νομακ[ . [ .  
 [ . ] αιουπρο[



Scut. 381 and Strabo 8, 7, 2, p. 385). Otherwise, one would expect ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἐλίκης. Montanari must be right in saying that the text of P. Berol. 13282 was more concise than that of the scholia. The destination of the ἀποικία (εἰς Μίλητον καὶ τὴν Καρίαν) was probably omitted. The Oxyrhynchus fragment offers a participle ]αεχων; I doubtfully restore ἀνασχών (or κατα- 'landing' or μετα- 'sharing').

D-Scholia: ὡς δ' ὅτε ταῦρος ἤρρυεν ἑλκόμενος Ἐλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα (20, 403-404). (...) (quoted from Montanari, *Atti Congr. Napoli II*, p. 241) ἡ δὲ ἱστορία αὕτη. Νηλεὺς ὁ Κόδρου, χρησμὸν λαβίων, ἀποικίαν ἔστειλεν εἰς Μίλητον καὶ τὴν Καρίαν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀχαικῆς Ἐλίκης. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν Καρίαν, ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἰδρύσατο, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἐλίκῃ τεμένου Ἐλικώνιον προσηγόρευσε. δοκεῖ δὲ ἐπὶν θύωσι τῷ θεῷ, βοησάντων μὲν βοῶν προσδέχεσθαι τὸ θεῖον τὴν θυσίαν, σιγῶντων δὲ λυποῦνται καὶ μηρίων νομίζοντες. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Κλειτοφῶντι.

## Fr. 4

].ζαυτουπ[  
]ρον.ερδ[  
]κουνοδ[  
].αμαλθ[

5

]. . . [

4 ] ., speck 5 ] . . [, first letter, flat top; second, a mere high speck

4 The only clue to the identification of this fragment might be αμαλθ[. The letters suggest the name Ἀμάλθεια, which is found in the scholia (21, 194).

The scholion tells the story of the river-god Acheloos, who fought with Heracles for Deianira's hand. Acheloos had taken the shape of a bull, and Heracles succeeded in tearing a horn off Acheloos' head. The river god gave in, but claimed his horn back; in return, he offered Heracles a horn from the goat Amaltheia, who had wetnursed Zeus as a child. This horn poured out flowers and fruits and was equated with the *cornucopia*.

D-Scholia: τῷ οὐτὲ (sic Lascaris; οὐδέ in standard text) κρείων Ἀχελώϊος ἰσοφαρίζει (21, 194). Ἡρακλῆς εἰς Αἴδου κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον συνέτυχε Μελεάγρῳ τῷ Οἰνέως, οὗ καὶ δεηθέντος γῆμαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν Δηϊάνειραν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς φῶς ἔσπευεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν πρὸς Οἰνέα. καταλαβὼν δὲ μνηστευομένην [i.e. -ον Bekker] τὴν κόρην Ἀχελῶν τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν διεπάλεσεν [i.e. -πάλαισεν] αὐτῷ ταύρου μορφήν ἔχοντι, οὗ καὶ ἀποσπᾶσας τὸ ἔτερον τῶν κεράτων ἔλαβε τὴν παρθένον. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀχελῶν παρ' Ἀμαλθείας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ κέρας λαβόντα δοῦναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀπολαβεῖν. δοκεῖ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ποταμῶν μέγιστος εἶναι ὁ Ἀχελῶς· διὸ καὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ τῆ τούτου προσηγορία καλεῖται. ἱστορεῖ Πίνδαρος [fr. 249a, p. 77 SM].

Amaltheia appears also in another mythological story, on 15, 229. But all our fragments bear on books 18 to 24, and it seems therefore quite unlikely that a fragment on book 15 would have been preserved, but nothing else in the gap between books 15 and 18.

## Fr. 5

col. i

]. . . [ . . . ] . β [ . . . ]  
νό]μιον ον[ . . ] α [ . . ]

5

col. ii

νηνρ[  
θαφορ[  
... [ . . . ]  
τες καὶ τ[  
παρειμε[  
[ . ] α . τεσυ[

βε]βλήκασι καθα  
Ἀπολλόδ]ωρος ἐνθένδε  
] θεοροῦντες  
] τοῦτον κατα  
] αντηνδεκα  
ἀ]λόγων ζώων  
] . φησὶν καὶ Ὀμη-  
ρος "οὐρήας μὲν πρῶ]τον [ἐπ]ώχετο  
15 καὶ κύνας ἀργούς" ] . ε . εταυ  
] φ . [

... αὐτου[  
ἀπελάσῃ τα[ε][  
παλοι.παιο . [ . . ]  
κατὰ τῆν ε . [ . . ]  
τεςεμεν[ . . ] . [ . . ]  
και . [ . . ] ηνδ[  
αντ[ . . . . ] . . [ . . ]  
.ην[  
ετ[

Col. i: 1 ] . . ., first letter, a descending curve, α suggested, δ also possible; third and fourth, only faint traces of ink 2 ] β, a low speck linked to β 6 ον[ . . ] α . [ . . ], some form of ὄνομα or ὀνομάζω? 9 θεο-, l. θεω-. 10 ] ., speck at mid-level 11 ] ., low speck 13 ] ., low flat end of a letter, linked to the following φ; α? 15 ] . . ε ., first letter, a high trace; second, top of a curve open on the right, ε or c; fourth, two low specks at a rather wide interval, perhaps even two letters 16 ] . [ . . ], two low specks

Col. ii: 3 ] . . [ . . ], first letter an oblique ascending stroke; second, a high rounded speck; third, horizontal stroke at mid-level with specks of ink above (perhaps ε) 6 ] α ., second letter a mere low trace of ink 7 ] . . ., first letter, bottom part of a descender with perhaps a horizontal linked to its left at mid level (η?); second, low part of an upright from a narrow letter, probably ι; third, horizontal stroke at mid level with trace of ink above (if ε, no trace of bottom part remains) 9 οι ., third letter a low speck at some distance from ι 10 ] ., corner pointing top left, π or γ 10 τῆν, of ν only a tiny low speck remains 11 ] . [ . . ], three specks that could suit a curving letter, e.g. ο 11 ] . [ . . ], low speck 12 ] . [ . . ], low speck 13 ] α, high, narrow, rounded speck 14 ] . [ . . ], first letter middle part of an upright, second top left part of a curving letter, ε, θ, ο, c 14 ] ., trace of ink on loose fibre

## Fr. 6

] ης [ β . ] [ . . ]  
β]ουλομε > [ . . ]  
] πράγματος [ . . ]  
] ρρω [ μ ] ενα [ . . ]  
5 ] θεὸν φύλα- [ . . ]  
κα ] ν κατεστω- [ . . ]  
προσα]γορεύσαντες [ . . ]  
] . ωντων[ . . ]  
] . . [ . . ]

1 ] ., remains of a roof-shaped letter, perhaps α 4 ] ., a speck at mid-level, adjoining a steeply descending curve 8 ] ., high speck 9 ] . [ . . ], first letter, top of a curve; second, two ink traces at mid-level



Fr. 6 is detached from fr. 5, but must have followed immediately. The first column explains why Apollo was called νόμιος, i.e. 'pastoral'. This story is paralleled by one in a scholion to *Il.* 21, 447. However, the word νόμιος itself is not found in the verse. According to men of older times, plague came from Apollo. Since it came first through animals (ἄλογα ζῷα), they called Apollo νόμιος for apotropaic purposes. The commentator bases his argument on a Homeric verse that says that '(Apollo) first smote the mules and the dogs' (*Il.* 1, 50). The explanation comes from Apollodorus. This scholar had a keen interest in the names of deities in the Homeric texts. It seems very probable that the information found in our fragment comes from Apollodorus' *Περὶ Θεῶν*. See R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968), pp. 260–3.

D-Scholion: Φοῖβε, εὐ δ' εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς βουκολέεσκες (21, 448). φασι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κεκλήσθαι νόμιον διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς λοιμοὺς ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐνόμιζον· πᾶς δὲ λοιμὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλόγων ἔρχεται. ὡς φησι καὶ Ὀμηρος: "οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο καὶ κύνας ἄργου". βουλόμενοι οὖν τὸν θεὸν δυνάμειν ἵνα τοὺς λοιμοὺς ἀποστρέψῃ, νόμιον καὶ φύλακα τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐκάλεσαν, ὅθεν ἡδύνατο Ὀμηρος εἰπεῖν "ἐβουκόλησε παρά Λαομέδοντι καὶ Ἀδμήτῳ ἱπποφόρβησεν". οὕτως ἱστορεῖ Ἀπολλόδωρος (FGrH 244 F 95–9 p. 1057).

The second column is not yet identified.

Fr. 7

· · ·  
· · ·  
]αη[  
]ςχ[  
]ηω[  
]· · ·  
· · ·

3 ]·, roof-shaped top of letter    ]·, high left end of horizontal

The light decoration above and under l. 2 indicates that the commentary has reached a new book of the *Iliad*. One very tempting reading would thus be τόμο]ς χ [·, i.e. book 22. The first mythological story recorded in the Scholia for this book bears on v. 29; but the letters read in l. 3 of our fragment do not concord with the beginning of the text in the Scholia.

D-Scholion: ὃν τε κύν' Ὠρίωνος (22, 29). τὸν ἀστρώων κύνα οὕτως ἔφη. ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασι τόνδε τὸν κατηστερισμένον κύνα οὐκ Ὠρίωνος ἀλλὰ Ἡριγόνης ὑπάρχειν, ὃν κατηστερισθῆναι [i.e. καταστερισθῆναι] διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Ἰκάριος [i.e. Ἴκ-, and so throughout] γένος μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος· ἔσχε δὲ θυγατέρα Ἡριγόνην ἣτις κύνα νήπιον ἔτρεφε. ξενίας δὲ ποτε ὁ Ἰκάριος Διόνυσον ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ οἴνου τε καὶ ἀμπέλου κλήμα. κατὰ δὲ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑποθήκας περιήει τὴν γῆν προφαίνων τὴν τοῦ Διονύσου χάριν ἔχων σὺν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸν κύνα. γενόμενος δὲ ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως, βουκόλοις οἶνον παρέσχε. οἱ δὲ ἀθρόως ἐμφορησάμενοι, οἱ μὲν εἰς βαθὺν ἕπνον ἐτράπησαν ὀψέ τε ἐγερθέντες καὶ νομίσαντες πεφαρμάχθαι, τὸν Ἰκάριον ἀπέκτευναν. ὁ δὲ κύνων ὑποστρέψας πρὸς τὴν Ἡριγόνην δι' ὠρυγμοῦ ἐμήνυσε αὐτῇ τὰ γενόμενα. ἡ δὲ μαθοῦσα τὸ ἀληθὲς ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησε. νόσου δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις γενομένης, κατὰ χρησμὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε Ἰκάριον καὶ τὴν Ἡριγόνην ἐνιαυσιαίαις ἐγέραιρον τιμαῖς· οἱ καὶ κατηστερισθέντες, Ἰκάριος μὲν Βωώτης ἐκλήθη, Ἡριγόνη δὲ Παρθένος. ὁ δὲ κύνων τὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομασίαν ἔσχε. ἱστορεῖ Ἐρατοσθένης [cf. fr. 22–7 Powell].

Fr. 8

· · ·  
· · ·  
]υ·[  
]υεις[·]·γ[  
φι]λοφρόνων[  
]δε παρ' Ἡφ[αίστου

5 ἀμφορ]ῆα χρυσο[ῦν  
ἐν Νάξ]ω γενομ[  
]γα[·]·οι[·]  
Θέτ]ιδ[ι.] ἡ δ[ε] τῷ  
παιδι ἐ]χαρίσατ[ο  
] ἀποθη[  
(space)  
]· · ·[

1 ]·, low speck    2 ]·, tiny low trace of ink    7 ]·, high loop, ρ?    12 ]·, two high specks

In *Il.* 23, 92, Patroclus has asked Achilles to put their bones into the same vase, χρύσεος ἀμφοφορεύς. This golden vase was wrought by Hephaestus, who gave it to Dionysus during a stay in the island of Naxos; Dionysus gave it to Thetis, Achilles' mother. She in turn gave it to her son to hold his bones after his death.

D-Scholion: ὡς δὲ καὶ δετέα νῶιν ὁμῆ κορός (23, 91). Διόνυσος Ἡφαιστον γενόμενος ἐν Νάξῳ μὲν τῶν Κυκλάδων ξενίας ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ δῶρον χρύσειον ἀμφορέα. διωχθεὶς δὲ ἕτερον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου (sic Lascaris; read Λυκούργου) καὶ καταφυγὼν εἰς θάλασσαν, φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν ὑποδεξαμένης Θέτιδος, ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ τὸν ἡφαιστό-τευκτον ἀμφορέα. ἡ δὲ τῷ παιδι ἐχαρίσατο ὅπως μετὰ θάνατον ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποτεθῆ τὰ δετὰ αὐτοῦ. ἱστορεῖ Στησίχορος [PMGF fr. 234].

Fr. 9

· · ·  
· · ·  
]του[·]·[  
]ουνομ[  
]ουρρο[  
]θηθ·π[  
5 ]αττα[  
· · ·  
· · ·

1 ]·, bottom part of curve    4 ]·, high speck continued by the horizontal of the following π

3 ]ουρρο[. This line may offer a slim chance of identification. In D-Schol. 23, 92 (see fr. 8), one reads διωχθεὶς δὲ ἕτερον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου. The other remains do not allow any confirmation of this possibility. A second possibility would be 18, 486, where Lycurgus also appears.

D-Scholion: Ἰάδα (18, 486). (...) Ζεὺς ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ γεννηθέντα Διόνυσον. ταῖς Δωδωνίαις νύμφαις τρέφειν ἔδωκεν· Ἀμβροσίᾳ, Κορωνίδι, Εὐδάρῃ, Διώνῃ, Αἰκύλῃ, Πολυξοῖ. αὐταὶ θρέψασαι τὸν Διόνυσον περιήσαν σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐρεθείσαν ἄμπελον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χαρίζομεναι. Λυκούργος δὲ μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης συνεδίωξε τὸν Διόνυσον. ἐκεῖνας δὲ ἐλέησε ὁ Ζεὺς κατηστερίσεν. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδῃ [FGrH 3 F 90b]. (...)

Fr. 10

] . ον γένεσιν . [ ]  
 ]ομενοι δια τ[ ]  
 ]οροστοςπρ[ ]  
 ] [ . . ] ' c ω ' c ι ν [ ] ε . . [ ]

5

Αχ]ιλλεύς τω . [ ]  
 ]εϊκότως γ . [ ]  
 ]έκ Φαρσάλ[ο]υ [ ]

] . αι ἐν[τε]ύθεν ὁ ποταμ[ὸς]  
 ] . . . χει . [ῆ] δ' ἱστορία παρὰ [τοῖς τὰ

10

] αλικά c[υ]γγράφασι [ ]

&gt;

οὐδ' εἶ] κεν μετόπισθεν [Ἀρείονα  
 δίου] ἐλαύνοι Ἀδρήστου τ[αχὺν ἵπ-  
 πον] ὅς ἐκ θεόφιν γένος ἦεν . [ ]

23, 346-347

] Ποσειδῶνα ἐρασθέντα Τιλ[φω-  
 ] c[ε] ] αἴ' ης τῆς Ἐρεινύος ἵππῳ ἀπεικ[α-  
 ] cθέντα μιγῆναι αὐτῇ ἐν Ἀλιάρ- [ ]  
 ] τω τῆς Βοιωτίας . τὴν δ' ἔνκυον [ ]  
 ] γ] ἐνηθείσαν ἵππον γενῆσαι ω[ ]

15

] κο . [ . ] γ . τῶτον δὲ διὰ τὸ κράτι[ε]-  
 ] το] γ [εἶναι Ἀ]ρείονα κληθῆναι . τὸ] γ δὲ  
 Κοπρέα Ἀλι]άρτου βασιλέα . [ ]

20

λαβεῖν αὐ]τὸν παρὰ Πο[σειδῶνος  
 ] δὲ Κοπρ[ . . ] ' ε ' α [ ]

πα]ραχωρησ[α]  
 ] ε π . [ ]

25

1 ] . , two dots one above the other, right part of c? [ . ] , upright joined at top by a horizontal, π or γ  
 4 [ . . ] , first letter a mere smudge, second letter perhaps ω [ . . ] , three bottom level dots at an equal  
 distance one from another 5 [ . ] , low left part of a curve, α? 6 [ . ] , top left part of a curve,  
 perhaps α 8] . , right part of a descending oblique, λ? 9] . . . , first letter, a spot at bottom level;  
 second, a horizontal at bottom level (δ ?); third, a high trace next to the top of the following χ 13 [ . ] ,  
 bottom left part of a loop, perhaps α 14 [ . . ] , first letter, bottom end of a descender; second, low  
 trace of a short flat stroke; third, bottom trace of a rounded letter, perhaps α 15 κ[ . ] , bottom trace of  
 a descender 19 [ . ] , low horizontal stroke, perhaps δ 20 ] γ , oblique stroke and right vertical;  
 α not excluded 21 [ . ] , low flat speck 25 [ . ] , upright, ι suggested, γ, η or π possible

1-10 This is a commentary on *Il.* 23, 141-2, *στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην, τὴν ῥα Σπερχειῷ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεθόσων*. The Mythographus Homericus refers to an old custom by which young men reaching adulthood cut their hair and offered it to rivers. Achilles sacrifices hair to the Thessalian river Sperchius because he himself comes from Pharsalus in Thessaly.

9-10 [ῆ] δ' ἱστορία παρὰ [τοῖς τὰ | ] αλικά c[υ]γγράφασι. The text from the Scholia (ῆ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς Ἀργολικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν, see below) suggests in our papyrus a reading ῆ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ [τοῖς τὰ Ἀργ]ολικά συγγράφασι. But, although damaged, the letter preceding λ is clearly not an omicron, but an alpha. Since the story deals with Pharsalus, a Thessalian town, one could perhaps read Θεττ]αλικά. Several authors wrote Θετταλικά, among them the historian Hellanicus. A confusion might have arisen from the fact that he had also written Ἀργολικά (see Schol. to *Il.* 3, 75: ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Ἀργολικοῖς = FGrH 4 F 36).

D-Schol.: ἄλλως κοί γε πατὴρ ἠρήσατο Πηλεὺς (23, 144). ἔθος ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μετὰ τὸ παρακμάσαι τῆς νεότητος τὰς κόμας ἀποκείρειν τοῖς ποταμοῖς. τούτους γὰρ ἐνόμιζον τῶν ἀνατροφῶν αἰτίους εἶναι. διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ὕδωρ ἐκόμιζον, τέκνων τε γενέσεως καὶ παιδοτροφίας ὠωνὸν τιθέμενοι. διόπερ καὶ τὰς Ἀχιλλέως κόμας Πηλεὺς τούτῳ καθιέρωσεν. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ Φαρσάλου τῆς Θετταλίας. ῆ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς Ἀργολικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν.

11-25 The story of Areion, Adrastus' horse (see 23, 346-7), is told in this section. Demeter, trying to escape Poseidon's love, changed herself into a mare and hid among king Oncus' horses, in Thelpusa, a town of Arcadia. To no avail: Poseidon too turned into a horse; from their intercourse were born a daughter, whose name was unutterable, and a horse, Areion. This horse was famous for its swiftness. It was given either to Copreus, king of Haliartus (D-Schol.) or to Oncus, a king in Arcadia (Paus. 8, 25, 10), before passing to Heracles.

15 Τιλ[φω]c[ε] ] αἴ' ης Ἐρεινύος. Demeter was called Erinyes in Thelpusa. See Paus. 8, 25, 4 ff. On the adjective *Τιλφωσαίη* as applied to Demeter Erinyes, see Schol. Lyc. 1225 = Call. fr. 632 Pf.: Ὀγκαίου . . . τοῦ τῆς Δημήτρος τουτέστι ἐρινυώδους, παρ' ὅσον ἐν Ὀγκαίᾳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας Ἐρινύς Δημήτηρ τιμάται, ὡς καὶ Καλλιμάχος: "τὴν μὲν δ γ' ἐσπέρμησεν Ἐρινύϊ Τιλφωσαίῃ".

20 f Or τὸ] γ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλι]άρτου β.

D-Schol.: οὐδ' εἶ κεν μετόπισθεν Ἀρίονα δῖον ἐλαύνοι (23, 346). Ποσειδῶν ἐρασθεὶς Ἐρινύος, μεταβαλὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν εἰς ἵππον, ἐμίγη κατὰ Βοιωτίαν παρὰ τῇ Τιλφούσῃ κρήνῃ. ῆ δὲ ἔγκυος γενομένη ἵππον ἐγέννησεν, ὅς διὰ τὸ κρατιστεῖν Ἀρείων ἐκλήθη. Κοπρέος δ' Ἀλιάρτου βασιλεῦσιν πόλεως Βοιωτίας ἐλαβε δῶρον αὐτὸν παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος. οὗτος δὲ αὐτὸν Ἡρακλεῖ ἐχαρίσατο γενομένη παρ' αὐτῷ. τούτῳ δὲ διαγωνισάμενος Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς Κύκνον Ἄρεος υἱὸν καθ' ἵπποδρομίαν, ἐνίκησεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Παγασαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, ὃ ἐστὶ πρὸς Τροιζήνι. εἶθ' ἕτερον αὐθις ὁ Ἡρακλῆς Ἀδράστῳ τὸν πῶλον παρέσχεν. ἐφ' οὗ μόνος ὁ Ἄδραστος ἐκ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ πολέμου διεσώθη τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολομένων. ῆ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς [Theb. F 6<sup>c</sup> Davies, 8 Bernabé].

Fr. 11

]νατουτ[ ]

]μαενπ . [ ]

]ζωματ . [ ]

23, 683 ?

]τησαιοθε . [ ]

5

]εισηγησας[ ]

]τουσεπα[ ] ῆ]

]δ' ἱστορία π[αρὰ

&gt;

] τ[ . . . ] . [ ]

]κλέψαι δ' ὄτ[ρ]ύ]ν[εσκον εὐσκοπον 24, 24

10

Ἀργε]ιφόντην. Δία [ἐρασθέν-

]τα Μαίας τῆς Ἀτλα]ντιδος





5 ] βηντ[  
 ] ωτου[  
 ] τατη[  
 ] μησα[  
 ] αν[  
 10 ] ςφυ[

1 ] ., tiny trace of ink  
 bar in the middle, θ or ε  
 7 ] ., tiny trace of ink  
 9 ] ., left part of a curve with a horizontal

5-6 The horizontal stroke between the two lines could be some kind of a separator. It does not look like a paragraphus.

## Fr. 19

(space)  
 ] [ν]κα[  
 ] τοσπ[  
 ] ομα[  
 ] ηςχη[  
 5 ] κατατ[  
 ] λλουσα[  
 ] νδυνη[

1 ] ., high speck on edge of break, another speck below, but which could belong to preceding α  
 a tiny high trace of ink  
 4 ] ., low end of downwards oblique  
 3 ] .,

## Fr. 20

] . θ[ . . ] . η[  
 ] αζετ κατατ[  
 ] . σα . οτον[  
 ] περιπυ . τι . [  
 5 ] αυτο . [  
 ] . . . [

1 ] ., first letter, low speck; second, high horizontal ] η, first letter, trace of ink  
 2 ] ., trace  
 3 ] . σα, first letter, end of high horizontal, low speck; fourth, low trace  
 4 ] . τι, first letter, upright;  
 fourth, top end of descender  
 5 ] ., trace  
 6 ] . . ., specks of tops of letters

## Fr. 21

] . . [  
 ] σκαλ[  
 ] σικυν[  
 ] . τασδ[  
 5 ] ποτεω[  
 ] αυτα[  
 ] τωνθ[

1 ] ., bottom part of two vertical strokes that could belong to the same letter  
 and one low speck corresponding probably to the right ends of c  
 4 ] ., one high  
 6 ] ., mid-level speck

## Fr. 22

] ωνο[  
 ] ηνδ[  
 ] [ ] εβου . [  
 ] . οταξ[  
 5 ] αρα . [

2 ] ., low speck, λ suggested, δ or α not excluded  
 out ] ., tiny low speck  
 3 [ ] ., end of a high horizontal (τ, γ?) crossed  
 4 ] ., tiny low speck  
 5 ] ., trace on loose fibre

5 ] αρα . [ Possibly the remnants of the often recurring phrase ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δαίμνι.

## Fr. 23

ἀρ]μοζο . [  
 ] γγαρη[  
 ] ναδε[  
 ] επεμψ[  
 5 ] . ατας[  
 ] . [

1 ] ., high speck, probably υ  
 trace of top of a letter  
 5 ] ., low end of a descending curve, α, λ or δ  
 6 ] ., small

Fr. 24

. . .  
 ] . [ .  
 ἡ δ' ἱστ]ορία π[αρά  
 (space)  
 ] . δρϋ[  
 5 ]ητις[  
 ]τη[  
 ] . . π[  
 . . .

1 ] . [, bottom part of a curve      2 ] . [, upward curve continuing the tail end of preceding α, then joining high horizontal; probably π, although oddly written      4 ] . [, bottom part of curve      7 ] . . [, first letter, top part of curve; second, top of descender

The space following l. 2 indicates the end of a section, which is confirmed by the words ἡ δ' ἱστ]ορία π[αρά τῷ δεῖν. The next section should in principle begin with a quotation from the Homeric text, ranging from a word to several verses. There are two possibilities, neither of which offers a fully satisfactory solution.

First, one could consider linking fr. 24 and 61; but, on obvious grounds of space, this solution must be discarded.

Second, fr. 24 and 53 could be linked thus:

	Fr. 24	Fr. 53
	. . .	. . .
	] . [	]αιτ[
	ἡ δ' ἱστ]ορία π[αρά	]Αλέξα]νδ[ρ—
	] . [	]αγ[
12, 132	] . [	] . [
	ὡς ὅτε τ]ε δρϋ[εσ οὔρεσιν ὑψικά]ρηγ[οι	

In favour of this solution, it should be noted that there is a mythographical story on *Il.* 12, 93 about Paris, and that the name Alexandros does appear near the end of the story. On the other hand, the fact that the D-Scholia do not offer a story on 12, 132 (and there seems to be no obvious one to tell on that particular verse) speaks against this solution. Moreover, all other identified fragments cover a span from books 18 to 24. A single fragment for book 12 seems rather suspicious. Nevertheless, if one is to accept this possibility, it would mean that our roll would have covered at least half of the *Iliad*, or perhaps even the whole work.

D-Scholia (*Il.* 12, 93; text from Montanari's projected edition of the D-Scholia): κατὰ γαστρὸς ἔχουσα ἡ Ἐκάβη ὄναρ ἐθεάσατο ὅτι ἔτεκε δαλόν, ὑφ' οὗ πᾶσα κατεφλέχθη ἡ πόλις. τὸ οὖν τεχθὲν γνώμη τῶν μάντεων ἐξετέθη, ἀλλὰ γνώμη θεῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐρόντος ἐτράφη βουκόλου, δε ἄρκτον αὐτῷ γάλα ἐπισχοῦσαν θεασάμενος ἀνέθρεψεν. ἐκλήθη οὖν Πάρις, οὐχ ὡς τινὲς φασιν, ὅτι ἐν πύργῳ ἐτράφη, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν μῶρον παρήλθεν. ὕστερον δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτι τῇ πατρίδι ἠλέξην, τουτέστιν ἐβοήθησεν, πολεμίων ἐπελθόντων.

Fr. 25

. . .  
 ] . τοις[  
 ] . ομῆ[  
 ] ευστ[  
 ] ονη . [ .  
 5 ] ωμ . [ .  
 ] εσεκ[  
 ] . . [ .  
 . . .

1 ] . [, low end of letter, curving upwards      2 ] . [, end of high horizontal, γ or τ on edge of break      4 ] . [, trace on edge of break      5 ] . [, trace on edge of break      7 ] . . [, high traces

Fr. 26

. . .  
 ] . τωνμ[  
 ] . οινω . [ .  
 ] τυγα[  
 ] πα . [ .  
 5 ] ανο[  
 . . .

1 ] . [, high speck touching horizontal of following τ      2 ] . [, trace of rounded letter, perhas c left part of a curve      4 ] . [, top part of a vertical, joining at top a horizontal, γ or π

Fr. 27

. . .  
 ] ρ[  
 ] ο . [ .  
 ] ενλ[  
 ] εκτρ[  
 5 ] . ρθη[  
 ] ασα . [ .

2 ] . [, high speck next to preceding ο      5 ] . [, speck at mid level, on edge of break      6 ] . [, trace of top left part of curve

Fr. 28

]ηχη[  
 ] ουν[  
 ]με[  
 ]ντο[  
 5 ] ου[  
 ] η[  
 ]πο[

2 ], end of high horizontal, γ or τ 5 ], two specks one above the other, probably ε 6 ], vertical on edge of break ], bottom left part of curve

Fr. 29

] δ[  
 ] θρ[  
 ] μ[  
 ] οψ[  
 5 ] λ[  
 ] κ[  
 ] ς[  
 ] .[

3 ], upright on edge of break 8 ], tiny speck

Fr. 30

]νε[  
 ]οφαν[  
 ] γυν[  
 ]ντα[  
 5 ]αδε[  
 ] .[

1 ], left part of curve 2 ], upright on edge of break, perhaps η (Θεοφάνης?) 3 ], vertical 4 ], left part of curved letter (small trace) 5 ], low speck 6 ], three high specks

Fr. 31

]λα[  
 ]ων[  
 ] ασε[  
 ]υπο[  
 5 ] . . .[

1 ], bottom left end of upwards oblique 3 ], high speck ], low trace 4 ], trace of rounded letter 5 ] . . . ], first letter, descending curve; second, top end of vertical; third, α or δ

Fr. 32

]γα[  
 ]ωα[  
 ]ερωτ[  
 ]ωπου[

Fr. 33

] . . .[  
 ]ικαι[  
 ]αποδ[  
 ]λον[  
 ]πω[

1 ] . . . ], first letter, bottom part of vertical; second and third, mere traces 5 ], tiny low speck

Fr. 34

] . . . .[  
 ] προλειπ[  
 ] θαι γάρ [  
 ] ειτου[

1 ] . . . . ], specks of bottom of four letters

2 προλειπ[. A form of the verb προλείπω is recognizable, but this clue does not seem to lead to any particular story in the Scholia.

Fr. 35

]. τα αλλ[  
 ]δ αυτα[  
 ]πο[

1 ], trace on loose end

Fr. 36

]. [ .  
 ] . [ .  
 ] δ[  
 ] τ[  
 >—  
 5 ] κ[

1 ], bottom left part of curved letter      2 ], mere speck

Fr. 37

]. [ .  
 ]τα. [ .  
 ] . . . . [ .  
 ]εεετ[

1 ], bottom part of curved descender      2 ], descender      3 ] . . . . [ , first, curved letter (ε ?); second, flat top with part of vertical coming down, perhaps π or τ; third and fourth, mere traces

Fr. 38

]. [ .  
 ] κη. [ .  
 ]θαιδα[  
 ]εεε λ[

1 ], tiny speck edge of break (probably τ)      2 ], upright joined at bottom left by a low flat stroke      3 ], high speck on

Fr. 39

]. [ .  
 ] πω[  
 ]ονο[  
 ]ντα[  
 5 ]απα[

1 ], tiny speck      2 ], upright, with trace of letter joining at bottom left

Fr. 40

]. εθαια[  
 ] εωζ[  
 ]εντ[

1 ], upright      2 ], vertical slightly sloping to the left, bottom right ending in curve

Fr. 41

]. να[  
 ]ασαι[  
 ]ακα[  
 (space)  
 5 ] . . . [

5 ] . . . [ , only tiny traces on edge of break

Fr. 42

]. [ .  
 ] ντοι. [ .  
 ] ινε. [ .  
 ] . [ .

1 ], trace of descender, joined at top by horizontal rightwards (γ or τ)      2 ], corner-shaped end of letter pointing bottom left (α, δ ?)      3 ], high horizontal joining following ι (γ or τ)      4 ], part of descender starting at mid-level      4 ], mere trace



## Fr. 43

. . .  
 ] ο . [ .  
 ] ος . ν [ .  
 ] ν ος [ .  
 ] . . α ν [ .  
 5 ] . θ . [ .  
 . . .

1 ] . [, high horizontal      2 . [, mid-level horizontal stroke      4 ] . [, first letter, faded traces;  
 second, upper right part of curved letter      5 ] . [, upright, slightly sloping, joining a low horizontal      [,  
 mid-level trace

## Fr. 44

. . .  
 ] π ι . [ .  
 ] μ ε ν [ .  
 ] α τ ε . [ .  
 ] . ε ν ε [ .  
 5 ] . τ ω [ .  
 ] . α [ .  
 . . .

1 ] . [, tiny speck next to bottom of preceding ι; also high speck further right      3 ] . [, mid-level speck  
 on edge of break, continuing middle bar of preceding ε      4 ] . [, right edge of curving letter, ο or ω  
 5 ] . [, high end of loop      6 ] . [, high extremity of letter curving downwards

## Fr. 45

. . .  
 ] . [ . . . ] . ε ξ ε [ .  
 ] κ ἐ π ι δ ρ α μ ο [ .  
 ] α θ α [ .  
 . . .

1 ] . [, mid-level edge of downwards-pointing curve      ] . ε, first letter, high speck

## Fr. 46

. . .  
 ] . . . [ .  
 ] η π α ρ [ .  
 ] . ν ε τ [ .

1 ] . . . [, first letter, traces; second, low flat stroke; third, traces      3 ] . [, mid-level speck

## Fr. 47

. . .  
 ] . ρ α κ [ .  
 ] μ ε . [ .  
 ] . ο υ [ .  
 ] . . χ . [ .  
 . . .

1 ] . [, middle part of upright      2 ] . [, upper left corner of μ or ν      3 ] . [, low speck next to  
 following ο      4 ] . [, first letter, upper right part of curved letter; second, high speck      [, mid-level speck

## Fr. 48

. . .  
 ] ε [ .  
 ] ε [ .  
 ] π . [ .  
 ] . ω [ .  
 5 ] α τ τ [ .  
 ] . ο . [ .  
 ] α . [ .  
 ] α τ [ .  
 ] . ε [ .  
 10 ] υ . [ .  
 ] ω . [ .  
 ] α [ .  
 . . .

3 ] . [, extremity of upwards curve starting from bottom right end of preceding π      4 ] . [, high  
 upright      6 ] . [, tiny mid-level speck      [, left half of curved letter, ο or c      7 ] . [, high speck  
 9 ] . [, low end of horizontal touching following ε      10 ] . [, two specks on edge of break, one above the  
 other      11 ] . [, high speck

## Fr. 49

.  
 ] . [ .  
 ] μ [ .  
 ] . α [ .  
 ] α ς [ .  
 5 ] τ ε [ .  
 ] χ ρ ι [ .  
 ] ν [ .  
 .

1 ] . [ , mere speck

3 ] . , low flat stroke joining bottom end of upright

## Fr. 50

.  
 ] ε ν . [ .  
 ] θ α [ .  
 ] η ς [ .  
 ] ε [ .  
 5 ] μ ε [ .  
 ] ε ι [ .  
 ] . ν . [ .  
 .

1 ] . [ , high speck on edge of break

7 ] . ν . [ , first and third letter, mid-level specks on edges of breaks

## Fr. 51

.  
 ] . [ .  
 ] . α τ [ .  
 ] ε φ ν [ .  
 ] ω [ .  
 5 ] τ η [ .  
 ] . . [ .  
 .

1 ] . [ , low speck

2 ] . , high right end of horizontal, γ or τ

6 ] . . [ , mere traces

## Fr. 52

.  
 ] ε . [ .  
 ] ο ν [ .  
 ] ς ρ ο [ .  
 ] ν α ν [ .  
 5 ] α ν [ .  
 ] . . [ .  
 .

1. ] . [ , bottom end of two uprights      6 ] . . [ , first letter, right end of high horizontal; second, high speck followed by mid-level lower part of loop

## Fr. 53

.  
 ] α ι τ [ .  
 ] ν δ [ .  
 ] α γ [ .  
 (space)  
 5 ] ρ η ν [ .  
 .

In line 3, ] α π [ cannot be excluded. Since a space follows, one could expect to find ἡ δ' ἰστορί] α π [ ἀρά, cf fr. 24.

## Fr. 54

.  
 ] ω ς [ . [ .  
 ] η ν [ . [ .  
 ] α ς [ . [ .  
 ] η [ . [ .  
 .

## Fr. 55

.  
 ] υ ς τ [ .  
 ] . ς θ α [ .  
 ] . δ α . [ .  
 .

2 ] . , upright

3 ] . , low speck      . [ , upright

Fr. 56

· ·  
]ε.[  
]ποκγ[  
]χεε.[  
· ·

1 ] , bottom part of an upright      3 ] , top part of an upright, joining at right a horizontal (γ or π)

Fr. 57

· · · ·  
] . . . [  
]υττο[  
] . ιδ[  
· ·

1 ] . . . [ , first letter, trace of horizontal; second and third, slight traces horizontal (γ or τ)      3 ] , right end of a high horizontal

Fr. 58

· ·  
]ηδ[  
] . θα[  
] . αλ . [  
· ·

2 ] , high speck      3 ] , tiny speck on edge of break      . [ , left side of rounded letter

Fr. 59

· ·  
]αι [  
]ε [

Fr. 60

· ·  
] . . α[  
]αχ . [  
] . ει . [  
] . . . [  
· ·

1 ] . . , two low horizontals in the shape of an elongated ω      2 ] , left part of curved letter, c or o  
3 ] , mid-level speck      . [ , trace of upright on edge of break      4 ] . . . [ , first letter, tiny high speck; second, top part of curved letter (o or θ); third, upper part of upright

Fr. 61

· ·  
]ηδ[  
(space)  
] . αα[  
· ·

2 ] , high trace

The space between the lines could indicate the end of a book and the beginning of the next one. In this case, in l. 1, one could think of ] η δ' [ *ἱτροπία παρὰ τῷ δέινι*.

Fr. 62

· ·  
]γ . [  
]ην[  
]ιω[  
· ·

1 ] , low speck

Fr. 63

· ·  
] . . . ε . [  
]ναιρ . [  
] . [  
· ·

1 ] . . . , first letter, right end of low horizontal; second, bottom part of upright; third, bottom part of curved letter      . [ , low thick speck      2 ] , left part of curved letter (o or ε)      3 ] , roof-shaped top of letter

Fr. 64

· ·  
]ρα[

The space below this line could correspond to the bottom margin of the papyrus, but also to the end of a book. A possible reading in the latter case could be, of course, η δ' *ἱτροπία παρὰ τῷ δέινι*.

Fr. 65

.  
 ] vπ[  
 ] εcτ[  
 .  
 .

Fr. 66

.  
 ] . . . [ .  
 ] . o . [ .  
 ] . aτ [ .  
 .  
 .

1 ] . . [ ., first letter, low speck; second, traces would suit α or λ; third, low speck  
 of low horizontal, with speck above on edge of break 2 ] ., right end  
 break 3 ] ., upper right part of curved letter

Fr. 67

.  
 ] oτϵ[  
 ] πϵ[  
 .  
 .

Fr. 68

.  
 ] . . [ .  
 ] εω[  
 ] . ω [ .  
 ] ζη[  
 .  
 .

1 ] . . [ ., first letter, narrow cross-shape (too narrow for χ); second, low horizontal joining at its right end  
 a straight stroke sloping to the right 3 ] ., right end of λ or α

Fr. 69

.  
 ] o[  
 ] π . [ .  
 .  
 .

2 ] ., low speck on edge of break

Fr. 70

.  
 ] . [ .  
 ] ου[  
 ] aτ[  
 .  
 .

1 ] .[, tiny trace

Fr. 71

.  
 ] . [ .  
 ] α . [ .  
 .  
 .

1 ] .[, low speck on edge of break 2 ] .[, low speck joining bottom tail of preceding α

Fr. 72

.  
 ] . αρ[  
 ] π[  
 .  
 .

1 ] ., upright 2 π, possibly τϵ

Fr. 73

.  
 ] α . [ .  
 ] ηδ[  
 ] . ο . [ .  
 .  
 .

1 ] .[, upright 3 ] ., high speck 4 ] .[, low speck

Fr. 74

.  
 ] . [ .  
 ] . α . [ .  
 ] . [ .  
 .  
 .

1 ] .[, bottom part of oblique stroke (sloping to the right) joining beginning of a horizontal at mid-level  
 2 ] ., point-shaped end of letter (pointing downwards 3 ] .[, low roof shaped letter 4 ] .[, tiny speck

Fr. 75

.  
] . τ ο . [  
] . [  
.

1 ] ., trace of letter joining following τ at top .[, upright 2 ] .[, top part of curving letter

Fr. 76

.  
] . α ς [  
] κ . [  
.

1 ] ., upright on the left 2 ] .[, speck joining the bottom leg of preceding κ; also speck above, slightly more

Fr. 77

.  
] . [  
] . [  
.

1 bottom part of curved letter 2 tiny speck

P. SCHUBERT

## 4097. MYTHOLOGICAL COMPENDIUM

14 1B.204/H (a)

Fr. 1(b) 4 × 9.6 cm

Second century

Several scraps of what appears to be a mythological manual like that of Hyginus, combining catalogic and narrative material; in these scraps the former type is more heavily (perhaps exclusively) represented. Other examples are LIII 3702; 4098–9 below; P. Cornell 55 (iterum ed. L. S. Baldascino, *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 205–9); P. Stras. WG 332, ed. J. Schwartz in *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* II (1956) 151–6, with further notes by S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 39 (1959) 20; P. Vindob. Gr. inv. 26727, edd. P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *CE* 49 (1974) 317–24; P. Haun. I 7; P. Med. inv. 123 ed. S. Daris, *Proc. XII Intern. Cong. Pap.* (Toronto 1970) 97–102; P. Mil. Vogl. III 126, ed. L. Salvadori, *RFIC* 113 (1985) 174–181. Typically these books move abruptly from topic to topic, providing the reader at most with a heading at the start of a new section; they may not be greatly concerned with such niceties of production as the alignment of columns; and their sources usually prove impossible to trace. There are marked correspondences between the catalogue of Argonauts in fr. 1 and that of Hyginus, *fab.*

14: Iolaos, Thersanor, Priasos and Phokos are found only in these two authors, and the brothers Iphitos and Klytios only in these two and Apollonios of Rhodes. In fr. 2, this author and Hyginus share rarities at lines 4 and 6. We may be dealing with an alphabetical version of Hyginus' Greek source (e.g., for Argonauts, Theon's commentary on Apollonios) or something closely related to it. But there are substantial divergences as well, and these very papyri demonstrate how much mythography has vanished without trace, making source criticism futile.

The hand is a medium to small, upright rounded capital of a familiar type (see e.g. III 414, XVIII 2159–64, XXVI 2441, LIII 3711). This example is more informal than some and written with a thicker pen. It may be dated to the mid-second century. The scribe allows himself some extravagances, notably with κ and (once) ξ; φ, ψ, and ρ may also breach the line. ο is pinched, and the juncture of υ is distinctively low. Ink has often flaked away, making interpretation of some traces difficult. The back is blank.

Fr. 1

(a)

(b)

.  
] Θ η ς ε υ ς . [  
] Θ ε ρ α ν ω ρ . [  
] Ι α ς ω ν . [  
] Ι ο λ α ο ς . [  
5 ] Ε ι φ ι κ λ ο ς . [  
] Ι λ ε υ ς . Ο [ δ ] ο ι δ ο κ ο υ .  
] Ε ι φ ι τ ο ς . Ν [ α υ β ο λ ] ο υ .  
] Κ α τ τ ω ρ κ α ι Π ο λ υ δ ε [ υ κ η ς .  
] Κ η φ ε υ ς . [  
10 ] ρ ι α ς ο ς κ α ι Φ ω κ ο [ ς .  
Π η ] λ ε υ ς κ α ι ξ ξ Α [  
Κ λ υ τ ι ο ] ς κ α ι Ε ι φ ι τ [ ο ς .  
] υ ς κ α ι Ι ν α [  
] . ς . [  
.

A vertical kollesis along the right edge of (a) 1 to the right, dots of ink on two stray fibres  
3 ιαϰων 4 ιολαοϰ (only one dot of the trema visible) 5 ] .[, a tiny speck at mid-height  
low speck 6 ο[, left side of a round letter οι, a minute part of a vertical or the right edge of a  
round letter followed by part of a vertical in mid-line (not necessarily part of a new letter); fibres damaged  
and slightly misplaced κ, a vertical with high junction; faintest trace of the foot of a descender to the right  
ο, base of a round letter υ, bottom of a vertical 7 ο, a low speck υ fairly clear 9 ] .[, a  
high speck 10 ] .[, a speck halfway up 12 surface badly damaged, but ]ϰ seems legible

Catalogues of Argonauts are discussed by Seeliger in Roscher's *Lexikon* I 507–10; O. Jessen, *Prolegomena in catalogum Argonautarum* (Diss. Berlin 1889); C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin 1920) 770 ff., and *NGG* (1918) 469–500. The main lists are Ap. Rhod. 1.23–227; Apollonios' scholia (Prolegomenon C, p. 4 Wendel, writes out Apollonios' list with the notable addition of Theseus; the scholia proper provide further information); Hygin. *fab.* 14, Val. Flacc. 1.353–486, Orph. Argon. 119–231 (these are more or less dependent on Apollonios); and Ps.-Apollodoros 1.9.16. See also Diod. Sic. 4.40.2 (= Dionysios Skytobrachion fr. 14 Rusten); Euphorion *SH* 432; and the fragment of a catalogue found on a Chian inscription (sacc. v/iv?) and published by B. Haussoullier, *REG* 3 (1890) 206–10.<sup>1</sup> Earlier sources include Pindar *Pyth.* 4, whose scholia at verse 303 inform us that Aischylos' *Kabeiroi* (fr. 97a Radt) and Sophokles' *Lemniades* (fr. 385 Radt) contained catalogues. The mythographers Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 FF 26, 107–110) and Herodotos (*FGrHist* 31 FF 5, 41–46) also gave lists, of which we have scanty fragments; the implication of [Hesiod] fr. 63 M.-W. is that the *Catalogue of Women* also included a catalogue of sorts (see below on 5), and the implication of Antimachos fr. 56 Wyss *καταλέγει δὲ τούτους* [Zetes and Kalais] *καὶ Ἀντίμαχος* may be the same. A few variants regarding heroes' parentage and homelands are omitted by Seeliger; some are mere mistakes in Hyginus, and need not be repeated, but note the omission of 'Caeneus alter, Coroni filius' in Hygin. 14.23 and Apollodoros (cf. Seeliger in Roscher II 897), Palaimon as an alternative form of Palaimonios in Apollodoros (who also gives the name of his human father differently from Apollonios), and †*Hveíos* son of Kaineus in Orph. Argon. 170.

In 4097 the juxtaposition of (a) and (b) is somewhat conjectural, but is supported by the clearer traces in 6–7; the fibres are of no help because of the kollesis. On the other hand, the order of the words in 11 makes against the join; see discussion there. The scribe evidently wanted to arrange the discrete items of each entry—Argonaut's name, father, and homeland—to align vertically, and therefore left substantial spaces in case extra information had to be included (similarly in fr. 2). Even so, at fr. 1.11 it looks as though the line has been shunted to the right by material spilling over from the preceding column. The column has an ample width (just under 10 cms).

If the join is wrong, (b) will have to go to the left of (a); the beginnings of lines 6–7 in (b) will be from a column to the left; and the traces at the ends of lines 4–7, 9 will be from a third column to the right, into which the middle column several times irrupts. The distance between (b) and (a) would be indeterminate; that there was a space is indicated by the lack of alignment of the fibres, and of the letters in line 5, when the two fragments are so juxtaposed. Presumably fathers' names interceded.

LIII 3702 fr. 2 is a catalogue of Argonauts much like this one; see Haslam's commentary.

<sup>1</sup> Theseus is excluded by Apollonios but included by many others for honorific reasons (Hyginus, Apollodoros, Diodoros, Statius *Theb.* 5.431). Of other names on the list, only those mentioned in the introduction are unusual. Of Argonauts in this range of the alphabet (θ–κ), omitted are (sources given only for the less commonly listed): Hippalk(i)mos son of Pelops (included only by Hyginus 14.20 and 3702); Ialmenos son of Ares from Orchomenos (probably mentioned with Askalaphos, his constant partner); Idmon son of Abas/Apollo from Argos; Iphiklos son of Thestios from Kalydon; Iphis/Iphitos the son of Sthenelos from Argos (Dionysios Skytobrachion fr. 28–29 Rusten, Val. Flacc. 1.441, 7.423); Kaineus son of Elatos from Magnesia (mentioned by *τῶς* according to schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.57–64a); Kalais son of Boreas (presumably mentioned with Zetes in spite of alphabetical order, as I(d)as follows Lynkeus in line 13); Kanthos son of Kanethos from Kerinthos; Kios (Strabo 12.4.3 p. 564); Klymenos (Val. Flacc. 1.369); Koronos son of Kaineus from Gyrtion; Kytisoros son of Phrixos ([Hesiod] fr. 255 MW = Akousilaos *FGrHist* 2 F 39 = Herodotos *FGrHist* 31 F 39; Ap. Rhod. 2.1155); and Thestor, whom Chamaileon (fr. 15 Wehrli) said was identical with Idmon.

<sup>2</sup> In Hyginus 14.20 we read 'Thersanon Solis et Leucothoes filius ex Andro'; the papyrus confirms the correction Thersanor, made perhaps unintentionally by Schmidt in the index to his edition of Hyginus. About him nothing else is known.

<sup>1</sup> Not reproduced by M. Zolotas, *Epigraphai Chiou anekdotoi*, *Athena* 20 (1908) 113–381, 509–26. Line 10 reads ΕΥΦΗ[ ]ΟΥ. Euphemos son of Poseidon has already occurred in line 7, and no other Euphemos is known from any other source. The list seems to be arranged according to fathers: sons of Zeus in 4–5 are succeeded by four sons of Poseidon in 6–9. Therefore the father in line 10 is very likely Hermes. I suggest that Euphemos' name was repeated here by mistake, ousting a son of Hermes. E(u)rytos is on all early lists, and the similar beginning would make the mistake easier. However, his name is too short for the space, if there are indeed eight spaces as the editor prints; but he does not say that the text is stoichedon, and has not seen the stone himself. The transcription offers several peculiarities.

4 Hyginus and our papyrus are the only sources to say that Iolaos 'of Argos' was an Argonaut. Presumably Ἰφικλέου.

5 According to schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.45 Iphiklos did not sail with the Argonauts in the versions of [Hesiod] (fr. 63 M.-W.) and Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 110); Apollonios and others include him. The itacism presumably indicates that the man who wrote this copy was not the man who alphabetized the list. On alphabetization (not often applied beyond first letters in the second century) see J. J. Keaney in *GRBS* 14 (1973) 415–23.

Presumably Φ[υλάκου].

6 Ἰλεός rather than Οἰλεός to preserve the alignment; on this form of the name cf. K. Nickau, *Untersuchungen zur textkritischen Methode des Zenodotos von Ephesos* (Berlin 1977) 36–42 (reference from W. J. Slater). Hodoidokos son of Kynos son of Lokros is the name of Oileus' father according to Eustathios on *Il.* 2.531 p. 277.17 (cf. Hyginus 14.7); there is a reasonable chance that this goes back to Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4 F 13 (Jacoby *ad loc.*; W. A. Oldfather, *Philologus* 67 [1912] 427 n. 51).

8 Either Τυνδάρεω or Διός would fit as the father's name.

9 Presumably Ἀ[λεοῦ].

10 'Phocus et Priasus Caenei filii ex Magnesia,' Hyginus 14.19. If Phokos is the Phokian eponym, his parentage is no less mysterious than the coupling with the unknown Priasos. That Hyginus no longer stands alone in this oddity discourages the assumption (e.g. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* 782 n. 2; Schmidt in his edition of Hyginus; Seeliger in Roscher II 897) that his reading is corrupt. The names here disturb the alphabetical order, but one need not emend to (e.g.) *Κρίακος* since another P-name appears to follow in the next line, continuing the disruption.

11 Alphabetical order and the short list of paired Argonauts indicate that we are dealing here with Peleus and Telamon. ἐκ Φθίας... Πηλεὺς καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Τελαμών would be the natural order, with the father's name either before Peleus or after Telamon; but this runs counter to the reconstruction proposed above, favouring rather the alternative. Perhaps the scribe, faced with a unique set of data (a pair of sons from two different locations) abandoned his normal procedure and wrote something like Πηλεὺς καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Τελαμών Αἰακοῦ, omitting as a result the homeland of Peleus. (I assume ἐξ Ἀ[ιγίνης] is out of the question since the separate locations of the brothers presume their banishment from Aigina [cf. Apollod. 1.8.2]. Ἀ[ττικῆς] or even Ἀ[τθίδος] [Ap. Rhod. 1.93, cf. Hygin. 14.8] are, however, possible.)

13 The number of paired Argonauts in this range of the alphabet is strictly limited; it seems probable that the scribe wrote Ἴνακ for Ἴδακ, with Ἀνγκεῖς preceding.

Fr. 2

	(a)	(b)
	. . . . .	. . . . .
	] . κᾰῖο [	] . . οθᾰ . ( . ) . [
	] . κᾰῶ [	] . κερκῶν . οσηπε [
	] . υκολ [	] . Μειῶος [
5	Δ] ευκαλ[ῶν [	] . λυκαῖφου [
	Δ] ρύακ κα [	] . Λαπίθ[ο]υ
	] . κεῦ [	] . . . θ . . . [ . ] . [

2 (init.) ], the foot of an oblique descender . . . , η or π preceded by a tiny low speck. After α, two or three letters; the first one or two all but lost in a hole, followed by an upright curving (slightly) to lower right, then a speck at mid-height, perhaps part of a fourth letter 3 ], ο, ε 6 ] ρ, ] φ not excluded 7 (init.) ], end of horizontal: γ, η, π, τ, ε . . . , a high blob (probably tip of φ); then indeterminate traces;

then perhaps π or τ. The bar of θ may be the result of accidentally dragging the pen; a similar stroke curving down through the left vertical of the 'π' could be regarded as its beginning. . . [ , very faint traces, then a juncture at mid-height most consistent with η . . . [ , a high dot, consistent with φ

The join was first divined on the basis of line 4 and the coincidence of line 6 with Hygin. 173.3 †*Iapeti Dryas* in a list of Kalydonian boar-hunters (where Deukalion is also uniquely enumerated among that company); the fibres subsequently confirmed it. That we are not dealing with Argonauts is further confirmed by line 7, where Lynkeus is almost certainly to be restored; he has already occurred in fr. 1. For discussion of the participants see C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* 92 ff.; G. Daltrop, *Die Kalydonische Eberjagd in der Antike* (1966). In early art apart from the François vase (whose inscriptions have recently been re-edited by Rudolf Wachter, *MH* 48 (1991) 86–113), note two Attic deinoi from the first half of the sixth century (R. S. Young, *Hesp.* 4 (1935) 430–41; Beazley, *Paralipomena* p. 42) and a band cup in Munich (Museum antiker Kleinkunst 2243, ca. 540 BC: P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (1962) 295; L. Rebillard, *BCH* 116 (1992) 501–40; further references in M. Vojatzki, *Frühe Argonautenbilder* (1982) 185 n. 852).

It is just possible that (a) belongs to the right of (b) (the scribe might well have changed the order of information from list to list); the difficulties produced by such an arrangement, though not insurmountable, are more serious than those produced by the arrangement preferred here. For a discussion of this alternative see below.

1 Easily restored as Ἀ]γκαιός[ , son of Lykourgos and a fixture of the catalogue from the beginning; he is the sole victim of the boar (identified as 'Antaios' on the François vase and, strangely, as 'Pegaios' on the first of the two deinoi mentioned above).

2 The traces at the beginning suggest Ἀ]λκμω[ν. A search of the TLG C-disk reveals no Alkmaion (Alkmaon, Alkmeon, Alkman) who is attested as a boar-hunter.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the contracted form Ἀλκμων nowhere actually appears; it is attested only as a possible contraction in Herodian *Π. παθῶν* fr. 371 Lentz (2.288.5). When one checks the source of the fragment, *Ety. Magn.* p. 66.16, one discovers that Ἀλκμων is only a variant in one manuscript over against Ἀλκάων, which Gaisford prints and Herodian's argument demands. Hyginus has two Alkons as boar-hunters, one a son of Ares, the other a son of Hippokoon. It looks as if our scribe has made one of his many mistakes.

οθοα at the end of the line is unavoidable but problematic. Some name in Ἴππ- (cf. Hyginus) is probably inevitable (the alignment with the names in 4–5 will be out only slightly), but Ἴπποθόας is an unattested Greek name (Ἴπποθόαντος would match the traces well enough, ν filling the hole and τ being represented by the slightly curving vertical; the scribe makes his tau thus). Still, it is preferable to supposing an unparalleled false resolution Ἴπποθόαντος from Ἴπποθόων (poetic citations and dialect forms can occur in these papyri, cf. P. Haun. I 7, 4099 i 24). Careless misspelling is always possible.

3 Kerkyon's son is Hippothoos (line 2), who is, moreover, said to be a boar-hunter by Hyginus 173.3 (em. Schaeffer; also Paus. 8.45.7, cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.307); but what he is doing at this point in the alphabet, with his name and his father's so disposed, is inexplicable. We seem therefore to have an otherwise unattested son of Kerkyon, and indeed an alternative paternity for this hunter seems to follow, suggesting some doubt. (This reconstruction involves the perhaps unattractive suggestion that the genitive of Kerkyon's name is misspelled; *Κερκυών* is specifically attested by 'Arcadius' p. 15.22 [ed. E. H. Barker, Leipzig 1820]=Herodian *Π. καθολικῆς προσφθίας* 1.22.25 Lentz [cf. *Π. κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* 2.724.10] to be oxytone with genitive *Κερκυόνος* as opposed to *Κερκυών/Κερκυώνος*. But the error is common, and the scribe has, in fact, left a space after -ος suggesting word-division.) Either ἦ Πει[- or ἦπει[ρ; as for the former, I have discovered no person of such a name whose relationship with Kerkyon was thus disputed; the latter will be an instance of late Greek ἦπειρ for normal disjunctive ἦ (W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern* III (1893) 343). The letters surviving

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps someone put the famous Alkmaion at the hunt, but this would be very odd; Amphiaraios, rather than his son, is the right generation (and keeps the right company) for it (Apollod. 1.8.2 etc.). Alkmaion is exclusively connected with the story of the Epigonoι and his mother's murder; his subsequent wanderings plainly belong to a post-hunt epoch. [Plut.] *De flu.* 19.1 (Mueller, *GGM* 2.658) records an Alkmaion son of Stymphalos who at one time gave his name to the river Alpheios — right geographical area, therefore, but this is to clutch at a straw.

in the son's name present a fairly rare sequence; he was probably *Βουκόλος* (Apollod. 3.10.5, 2.7.8) or *Βουκόλιον*. A Boukolion is found among the fifty sons of Lykaon at Apollod. 3.8.1, which is at least Arkadian; more significant is the same name as a descendant of Kerkyon at Paus. 8.5.4–7.

5 In Hygin. 173A Dolop(ι)α is said to have sent aid in the hunt. The eponym of the Dolopians (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δόλοπες*, *Ety. Magn.* p. 282.25 s.v. *Δόλοψ*) and the Dolops whose tomb was prominent on the Magnesian coast (Ap. Rhod. 1.585) are presumably the same person (so Hoefler, *RE* s.v.; *contra* Stoll, Roscher's *Lexikon* s.v.). His father is given as Hermes in the scholia to Apollonios (1.587 p. 51 Wendel), where the source is the mysterious Kleon of Kourion in his *Argonautika* (cited in two other places by these scholia: see *SH* 339–339A).

*Λυκαίφου* (vox nihili) seems to be an error for *Λυκαίθου*, a name known from Ovid (*Met.* 5.86) and Apollod. (3.10.5, *Epit.* 7.28); see also P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I* (Oxford 1987) s.v., who cite one example from Chios and twelve from Kos.

6 Dryas is named among the sons of Ares at Hygin. 159, and Apollodoros 1.8.2 lists this same Dryas among the boar-hunters. In the latter place, however, he is said to come from Kalydon, a fact which makes one wonder whether Aegius' emendation of Dryas for πύμας is correct; a son of Ares is more likely to be the Thracian father of Lykourgos: *Il.* 6.130, Apollod. 3.5.1, etc. The reading *Iapeti Dryas* in Hyginus 173 has always been assumed to be a strange mistake for *Martis Dryas* because of 159, but this papyrus, if we may move back in a circle, permits the correction *Lapithi*. A Lapith Dryas fights the Centaurs at *Il.* 1.263 and [Hes.] *Scut.* 179.

καὶ must follow, but I have no suggestion about the brother.

7 The only boar-hunter (or Argonaut, for that matter) whose name matches these traces is Lynkeus, though this is to leap forward somewhat in the alphabet. In the hole there is adequate space for καὶ Ἴδακ. Unfortunately the traces that follow can in no way be read as Ἀ]φάρεωσ. However, if η is rightly recognized toward the end of the line, there is room in the hole after it for one letter, and then there is a high dot consistent with φ; in other words, we may have an alternative parentage as in 3, with the expected Aphareus following in second spot. As for the unexpected first parent, I have no suggestions; with some generosity in interpreting the traces we may recognize a genitive ending in -τίου.

The alternative reconstruction of the fragment places the two parts so:

	(b)	(a)
		col. ii
col. i	. . . . . ] καί . [	. . . . . ] . [
	. . . οθοα (.) [ ] κμω [	. . . . . ] . [
	] κερκυωνοσηπέ [ ] υκολ [	. . . . . ] . [
	] Μειώος [ Δ]ευκαλ[ίτων	. . . . . ] . [
	] λυκαίφου [ Δ]όλοψ [	. . . . . ] . [
	] c Λαπίθο[υ Δ]ρύας κα [	. . . . . ] . [
	. . . πθ . . . [ ] κεν [	. . . . . ] . [

The first difficulty arises in line 3, where there is no longer room for the alternative to Kerkyon as the father of Boukolion or Boukolos (room for only two letters after ε). One will have to suppose that Kerkyon belongs to a column to the left which has exceeded its bounds. In that case, he might come from a quite different context. If Argonauts are in question, the link is with his daughter Alope, according to Pherekydes (*FCrHist* 3 F 147) the eponym of the Thessalian city whence came the three sons of Hermes, Aithalides, Echion, and Eurytos. Possibly then something like this: Argonaut(s) X(YZ), son(s) of Hermes, ἐξ Ἀλόπηγος πόλεως Θεσσαλίας ἀπὸ τῆς ]Κερκύωνος ἦπει[ρ / νὺν Ἐφεσος καλεῖται (this last bit from Hyginus 14.3, *Eurytos et Echion...ex urbe Alope, quae nunc vocatur Ephesus*; cf. *RE* s.v. Alope 5 and Stephanus of Byzantium s.v., 77.8 Meineke with his note. Rose's comment on Hyginus is inadequate.)

Another possibility is Theseus. Hippothoon, the Athenian tribal eponym, was son of Alope, near whose spring Theseus killed Kerkyon (Theseus also took her—or at any rate the ‘daughter of Kerkyon’—violently as his wife according to Plutarch *Thest.* 29). Lines 2 and 3 could be part of an account of Theseus’ deeds or wives (with the beginning of 2 also belonging to the preceding column).

Although Alope is common to both contexts, no one puts Hippothoon among the Argonauts, so that the beginnings of lines 2 and 3 are probably only to be read together if Argonauts are not in question. Keeping Hippothoas (if that is how his name is to be restored) with Alk(m)on in line 2 presents a curious coincidence with Apollodoros 3.10.5, where three of the sons of Hippokoon are named as Hippothoos, Lykaithos, and Boukolos. Boukolos (or Boukolion) in line 3 must also be a father on this alternative reconstruction. The resemblance to our fragment—on this reconstruction—seems too much to be coincidental. Normally the sons of Hippokoon exist only to be killed by Herakles, but it looks here as if someone picked three of them to be fathers of boar-hunters. This would be quite recherché; the ultimate source would presumably be a poet with local knowledge, or a mythographer worried about chronological consistency. In this source, Alkon was not a son of Hippokoon as in Hyginus, but a grandson.

The second difficulty occurs in line 7, where, if Lynkeus is still to be recognized, his father’s name must precede; but the preceding traces appear as in line 3 to be a continuation of the column to the left, and, as already explained, do not allow room for Aphaeus.

Finally, since our author has alphabetized the principal names for ease of reference, one might expect him to put these at the head of each entry, and not to bury them in the middle.

## Fr. 3

. . . . .  
 ] . . . . . [ .  
 ] εοc [ .  
 ] ειδωνο [ .  
 ] ελοπος [ .  
 5 ] ερμ [ .  
 ] ρηιθο [ .  
 . . . . .

1 two rounded letters (possibly  $\theta\epsilon$ ) followed by traces susceptible of various interpretations 2  $\epsilon$  or  $\varsigma$   
 4 ], very faint high trace, not certainly that of another letter 5 ],  $\rho$  or  $\epsilon$  6 ]  $\alpha$  possible

More fathers. In line 6 Areithoos is all but unavoidable. He is known from *Il.* 7.8 ff., 136 ff., the scholia maiora to these passages, schol. D *Il.* 7.10 = Pherekydes *FGrHist* 3 F 158, Paus. 8.11.4 (his tomb near Phoizon between Mantinea and Tegea) and schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.164 (Arkadian festival of Moleia seems to perpetuate the memory of his death). His fate was to carry a club and be killed by Lykourgos, father of Ankaios; the *Iliad*’s story about how this club came to be owned by Nestor is an invention which creates chronological difficulties, and the essential information relates to Areithoos’ cult site in Arkadia. His only known son, Menesthios, appears to be a Homeric invention (*Il.* 7.9).

Pelops’ sons in our evidence had quite circumscribed careers: Atreus and Thyestes quarrel with one another; Chrysis is the beloved of Laios, and is subsequently murdered by the first two named; Skeiron (Apollod. *Epi.* 1.2) is killed by Theseus; Pittheus was a wise man and father of Aithra; Pleisthenes is a genealogical cipher; and most of the rest are eponyms of cities. Alkathoos the Megarian hero perhaps had a more varied career than we can tell, but the only known man of adventure is Hippalk(i)mos—unless the Argeios who competed at the games of Pelias depicted on the chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5.17.10) and a Korinthian column-krater of ca. 560 (M. Vojatzki, *Frühe Argonautenbilder* (1982) 101 f.; J. Beazley, *AJA* 64 (1960) 221 f.) is identical with the son of Pelops mentioned by Pherekydes *FGrHist* 3 F 132 and schol. Eur. *Or.* 4.

He is promising from an alphabetical point of view, for Askalaphos was son of Ares, Ankaios was son of Poseidon, and Aithalides was son of Hermes, all of them Argonauts and hence good candidates for other exploits of that era (Kalydonian boar-hunt, funeral games of Pelias, etc.). If Areithoos and not his son is in question in line 6 (on the assumption that alignment has been skewed to the right by a spill-over from the preceding column) he would fit well with these names (though this is chronologically difficult since he was killed by Ankaios’ father—Ankaios son of Lykourgos, to be sure, but the two are often confused). If this is right, the games of Pelias are not in question; there is a limit to the list of competitors set by the number of individual events and the small number of also-rans consistent with heroic decorum. No other source gives so many A’s among the Pelias-agonists (cf. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* 37 ff.; add P. Stras. WG 332). Possibly, then, more Argonauts.

On the other hand, Hyginus’ list of competitors at the games of Pelias (*Fab.* 273.10–11) gives sons of Ares (Kyknos), Poseidon (Eumolpus), and Hermes (Eurytus). Hippalkmos son of Pelops wrestles Peleus on the Korinthian column-krater. In so short a list alphabetical order may have been abandoned. This is perhaps the easier assumption. Areithoos’ obscurity may make him (or rather his son) a surprising candidate for the list, but one Pisos the son of Perieres qualified for the Kypselos chest. Areithoos himself may appear again in fr. 5.

## Fr. 4

. . . . .  
 top?  
 ] τωντοτων [ .  
 ] ρωτασετεια [ .  
 ] [ .  
 ] παν [ .  
 . . . . .

Top: not certainly a margin; the space is about the size of that between columns ii and iii in fr. 1, but such spaces could be created by the many irregular line-lengths in this book (as in line 3 of this fr.). 4 ], tip of a horizontal

## Fr. 5

. . . . .  
 ] ρι [ .  
 ] κα [ .  
 ] αcτ [ .  
 ] λλ [ .  
 5 ] ηιθ [ .  
 . . . . .

2 ], foot of an oblique descender [ ,  $\epsilon$  or  $\varsigma$  3 ],  $\kappa, \varsigma, \epsilon$  [ ,  $v, \omega$  ]  $\text{K}\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega[\rho?$  4 ], traces of a high juncture 5 ], overhang of  $\eta$  or  $\pi$ ; trema dictates  $\eta$ .  $\text{A}\rho\eta\theta\iota\sigma\omicron\sigma?$



Fr. 6

] δε[  
 ] [ ]  
 ] .[.] .λε . . . [ ]  
 ] .αρονος[  
 5 ] (.) .λαχο[

3 .[.], λ, μ, ω, ψ ] ., ε, ε, κ; ] κλεονος possible 4 a low speck

If Ἰάκρονος in 4, his only surviving sons are (1) Hypsipyle's Euneos and Nebrophonos (Apollod. 1.9.17), whose exploits are not otherwise recorded (though Euneos is known to Homer, *Il.* 7.468, 23.747), and (2) Polyxenos, taken by Medeia to Aria (Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 F 132).

Fr. 7

] . εξ α[

] ., top of an upright; ] κ α ] ξ ξ ] α [- (cf. fr. 1 ii. 11) or ] η ξ ξ ] α [ (cf. e.g. Hygin. 14.11 *Hylas...ex Oechalia, alii aiunt ex Argis*)?

R. L. FOWLER

## 4098. MYTHOLOGICAL COMPENDIUM

24 3B.73/A(C)

6.7 × 9.8 cm

Third century

A mythological compendium like **4097**, where congeners are listed. The main part, beginning in line 3, lists people killed by Herakles; if the first two lines also deal with Herakles, a quotation of Eur. *HF* 464 may possibly be recognized in 2.

A medium to large, careful capital script. Informal features are the use of two alphas, an omega with a flattened middle junction, different sizes of omikron and a somewhat relaxed fluidity in most letters. Probably to be dated to the third century; cf. PBerol 9968 (Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* II no. 32). The verso contains an as yet unidentified piece of prose; references to Osrhoë and Artaios and an occurrence of the verb *προσκυνήσας* suggest some kind of *Περσικά* (Ktesias? Artaios in Diod. Sic. 2.34.1 = *FGrHist* 688 F 1). It is written in an informal Severe Style datable to the third century.

] . ν [ ] . [ ]  
 ] πελασγείας [ ]  
 ] θ [ ] . ας ἀνείλεν Ἄ [ ]  
 ] μύντορα τὸν Ὀρμένου μὲν [ ]  
 5 ] υἶὸν Φοίνικος δὲ πατέρα [ ]  
 ] Κτέατον καὶ Εὔρυ[τον] τοῦς [ ]  
 ] Μολείνης καὶ Ἀ[κτορί]ω [ ]  
 ] νος διφυεῖς ὄν[τας κ]αὶ ὕ [ ]  
 ] βριστὰς ἀνθρώ[πους] [ ]  
 10 ] Τηλέγονον τ[ὸν Πρωτ]έως [ ]

1 ] ν, tip of low horizontal 2a ] ζ α [ possible 3 ] θ, ] ε not excluded ] ., ζ or ε. 10 γ ρ not particularly recommended by the traces but the fibres are damaged and misplaced.

The story of the Molionids, the Siamese twins who fought successfully against Herakles during his attack on Augeas, and were subsequently killed by him in an ambush, is familiar enough; that of Amyntor less so (he was killed either because he refused passage through Ormenium to Herakles—Apollod. 2.7.7—or because he refused to give his daughter to him—Diod. Sic. 4.37.4). Telegonos son of Proteus (omitted by both Roscher and *RE*) and his brother Polygonos challenged Herakles to a wrestling match and were duly killed (Apollod. 2.5.9).

Neither οὐς Ἡρακλῆς ἀνείλεν nor anything like it is to be got out of the traces in 3; it looks instead as if we have an aorist participle before the main verb, ending in *-θείας, -θάσας, -είας, -εύας*, etc. Herakles as subject has already been introduced above, then, and lines 1–2 are also about him. Arranging Herakles' victims by the manner of death is a curiosity. A reasonable guess as to the participle in 3 has so far defeated the editor's ingenuity; *τοξεύσας* is not true for Telegonos, *ἐνεδρεύσας* is not true for Telegonos or Amyntor, *ἀθλεύσας* is not true for Amyntor or the Moliones.

*πελάσγιος* is a predominantly poetic adjective; in prose its use is confined to the feminine as the former designation of several parts of Greece (Delos, Lesbos, Thessaly, the Peloponnese, Arkadia; references mostly from the geographers) or Greece itself (Hdt. 2.56). Of the few examples in the genitive case on the TLG C-disk one occurs at Eur. *HF* 464, where the general context at least is Heraklean, so we may have a citation; however, the particular line does not seem immediately likely to have furnished material for the compiler of a catalogue. (Megara addresses one of her children: *οὐ μὲν γὰρ Ἄργος ἔνεμ' ὁ καθανὼν πατήρ, / Εὔρυς θέως δ' ἔμελλεσ οἰκήσειν δόμους / τῆς καλλικάρπου κράτος ἔχων Πελασγίας*.)

R. L. FOWLER

## 4099. MYTHOLOGICAL COMPENDIUM

33 4B.87/J(1–2)a

(b) 8 × 21.5 cm

First century BC–First century AD

A mythological compendium like **4097**, where congeners are listed. There is nothing very remarkable in the content. The list of the Epigoni offers points of contact with

Hyginus *Fab.* 71, and other points of contact are observed with the latter's preface. Catalogue apparently gives over to narrative at i 14. Poetic citations may be lurking in i 19 and 24.

The papyrus is written in a large, round, heavily decorated hand similar to XXXI 2545 (*GMAW* 37), which the editor dates to i BC–i AD, and IV 659 (*GMAW* 21), i BC. The letters are wobbly, as if written by an old man.

col. i		
(a)	(b)	
top		
	ἐπίγο]νοι τῶν ἐπ[τά Αἰγία]λεὺς Ἀδράστου[	
	Θέρ]κανδρος Πο[λυνείκους Ἄ]λκμέων Ἀμφια [	
	ράου] Θθένελοσ Κα[πανέωσ Θ]ηξιμέλης Παρ [	
	θεν]οπαίου Δι[ομήδης Τυδέ]ωσ Μοίραι [	
5	Κλω]θώ Λάχεσι[σ Ἄτροπος Ὠ]ραι Εὐνομῆ Δίκη[	
	Εἰρή]νη Χάριτες Ε[ὐφροσύνη Θαλίη] Αἴγλη{ι} Νύμφ[αι	
	Ἔρσ]η Πάνδροσ[οσ Cειρήνες Θ]εξιέπεια [	
	] νικευφρα [ Γοργόνες] Cθερνώ Μέ [	
	δου]α Εὐρύαλη Τ[ιτανίδες Τ]ηθύς Θέμις Μνη[	
10	μοσύνη] Φ[δ]β[η Θεία Ῥεία ] Εὐμενίδες Ἄλλη[	
	κτώ Μέγαιρα Τεισιφόνη] Ἀρπυῖαι Ἀελλώ Ὠκυ [	
	πέτη ] Ἐσ]περίδες Αἴγλη Ἐρύθεια[	
	] α[.] δελφοισ ἀνδ[.] [	
	] . ζ . [	
15	] ντοιμα [	
	] βοηθει [	
	] . . . χου [	
	] . . . ζηλου [	
	] λενα [ col. ii	
20	] . ια [	
	] εινου [	
	] νοει [	
	] αρμοτε . [	
	] αρεσκε . [	
25	] φευγε . [	
	] . . νατα . [	

	] αιρια	5	δ[
	] . ιμα		η[
	] . . . .		δ[
30	] .		. [
	] .		. [
	] .	10	[
	] .		χ[
	] .		ς . [
35	] .		ρ[
	] .		ε . [
	] .	15	. . φυ[
	] .		[ ] τι . [
	] .		[ ] . . [
40	] .		[ ] . [
	] .		[

Col. i 1 letters spread out in the heading. Vertical kollesis 1/2 cm from right edge. 2 end, to the right of a low, apparently accidental trace 8 . [ , left part of a round letter 13 ] . , a vertical 14 parts of 3 round letters 15 ] . , a high trace 16 part of a round letter followed by damaged surface 17 a round letter followed by a, δ, or λ, then two more round letters 18 foot of oblique descender followed closely by a vertical; then a high and low blob possibly part of the same original vertical; then a high blob ζ, ξ not impossible 20 minute trace of an oblique descender or finial 26 low remnant of vertical or finial followed by ρ or ν 28 a round letter 29 a high speck followed by the apex of a, δ, or λ, then two round letters 31 top of stroke descending to the right.

Col. ii 1 traces very faint and perhaps accidental; the surface here and in the next three lines is badly damaged and worm-eaten, so that whether ecthesis is present is not certain 3 bottom of gently rising stroke; ζ possible 4 a blur of traces evidently damaged by water 8 a vertical 9 fibres misplaced; perhaps χ or λ or μ 14 . [ , a vertical 15 perhaps τ, then a vertical with a thin horizontal extending to right half-way up; all uncertain.

i 1 ἐπίγο]νοι perhaps in ecthesis; ν]ιοί if in eisthesis.

i ff. The scribe has omitted one of the seven. Since the names given here occur in the same order as those in Hyginus *Fab.* 71, the missing name may be that of Polydoros son of Euryalos, whom Hyginus lists after Thersander. But lists vary; see Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* 950 ff. In 3, the son of Parthenopaios is normally Promachos. Hyginus' MS offers Thesimenes, which editors have corrected to Tlesimenes (cf. Paus. 3.12.9: Τλησιμένην δὲ Παρθενοπαίου τοῦ Μελανίωνος ἀδελφόν, οἱ δὲ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν). On the basis of the coincidence confronting us here I should emend both Hyginus and the papyrus to Theximenes—a name which, although not attested, has a comprehensible formation and a suitable meaning for a warrior.

4 From here on we have only women; hence the supplement in 9.

6 The three Charites are named as Thal(e)ia, Euphrosyne and Aglaia by Hes. *Th.* 907, Pind. *Ol.* 14.13 and most mainstream authorities. The scribe may have been distracted by Αἴγλη in 13. Since, however, Aigle is the mother of the Graces in Antimachos fr. 95 Wyss, there may be a deeper confusion lying behind this reading.

6 f. Ἐρ[ε]η is somewhat short for the space, so possibly either Νύμφ[αι] falsely divided, or the poetic form Ἐέρ[ε]η survived (cf on 4097 fr. 2.2). Herse and Pandrosos as a choice for 'Nymphs' from a potentially endless list is mildly curious. Scholars who regard the Arrephoria as a girls' initiation rite may see a reflex of this notion here if they wish ('nymphs' as 'brides') though the age of the Arrhephoroi is an obstacle and other interpretations are possible (see R. L. Fowler, *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 105–11).

8 Presumably a name in -νιc followed by one in Ἐύφρα- (α is certain), but these are not remotely like any known names of Sirens (see Wiecker in Roscher IV 603) and corruption may be present.

10 Room for a non-Hesiodic Titaness, or a gap left before the next group (cf. 12)?

The names of the Eumenides are first attested late: Verg. *Aen.* 6.571, 7.324, 12.846; Apollod. 1.1.4, etc.

11 f. The Harpies are normally a twosome; Hyginus *Fab.* 14.18 has a threesome Aellopoda (=Aello), Celaeno, and Ocypete (cf. *praef.* 35, where the names are Celaeno, Ocypete, and Podarce). The gap in 12 is too small for a discrete entry, but probably too large to serve as a separator; perhaps then Kelaino was named there (which would still leave a small space, cf. 10). Virgil (*Aen.* 3.211, cf. Val. Flacc. 4.453, 499) has simply 'Celaeno / Harpyiacque.'

12 f. Lists of Hesperides normally offer three or four names (Seeliger in Roscher I 2597–8); if four were named here, the remaining two are Arethousa and Hesperia (e.g. Apollod. 2.5.11, cf. Hesiod [?] fr. 360 M.-W.).

13 [ε]ν Δελφοῖς?

19 ] Ἐλένα (poetic citation)?

24 Possibly ]δεεκε; if so, unidentified poetic or dialect citation.

ii 15 Dr Coles suggests Τῖφν[ε] for Argonauts cf 4097 fr. 1.

R. L. FOWLER

### III. THUCYDIDES

#### 4100–4112. THUCYDIDES

In vol. LVII were gathered all the identified fragments of bks. i–iv of the *Histories* that had not previously been published. Here, along with a small supplement to that batch, are the fragments of bks. v–viii.

The most notable textual features are these. 4102 presents two true readings where the main mss are faulty: Ἀθήνη(ι)σι(ν) not Ἀθήναις in v 18.10 (the locative is reported in one rec., Vm), ἐμμενῶ not ἐμμένω in v 18.9; both already restored to the text, however. 4100 may have had ἀποικίαν not πόλιν in i 25.1, but the text is in lacuna. 4105 shows an agreement (in truth) with a variant recorded in H: αὐτῆ not πρώτη at vi 55.2; this reading thus stands with διανοία at i 2.2 (II<sup>32</sup> and H<sup>2</sup>) and with a number of readings towards the beginning of bk. vi in the freakish P. Bodmer XXVII, published by Carlini, *Mus. Helv.* 32 (1975) 33 ff., and shows that at least some of the readings to which the H collator had access (the source is known as ξ) were in general circulation in antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The same papyrus agrees with C against b over the spelling of a proper name at vi 55.1. As has long been recognized, towards the end of bk. vi the medieval tradition is significantly enlarged by B's switching to a difference source. Papyri falling on this side of the divide—4105B–4112, of those published here—can be expected to offer correspondingly less that is new, and the only textual novelties in evidence here are either in clear error (4110 6, 4112 1) or beyond secure recovery (4105B↔6–8, 4109 fr. 3.1). Between B (or BH, where H still follows B) and the rest the papyri's support is divided: 4105B and 4109, the only two of any extent (the latter is more of 2100 [II<sup>24</sup>] + 3891), each show agreements both with and against B (4105B: with B: vii 2.3 πρὸς not ἐς, 2.4 ?ἐτύγγανε not ἔτυχε, 4.4 ἐπαναγωγὰς not ἐπαγωγὰς; against B: vii 2.4 ?καιροῦ not τοῦ καιροῦ, ib. ἐπετετέλεστο not ἀπ-, 4.4 om. ἦδη; 4109: with B: viii 46 fin. ξυνεπολέμει, 92.4 δ; against B: viii 85.3 φυγόντος not διαφυγόντος): a reminder of how much is lost to the tradition in the first six books.

In passing, I should demur at attempts that have been made to press the papyri into stemmatic service by fastening on cases of agreement in error and treating them as Bindefehler, as establishing affiliation. If a papyrus agrees in error with the hypothesized 'archetype' Θ against the hypothesized extra-archetypal source A (by which only C is untouched), that does not justify talking in terms of an ancient 'split' between the

<sup>1</sup> In this connexion note should also be made of viii 23.5 ξυμ[μαχων] in XVII 2100 (which 4109 now joins), where the main mss wrongly give νεῶν. H is not extant after vii. 50 (it switched from collating to transcribing the ξ ms at vii 5), but ξυμμάχων has been found entered by a second hand in Nf (Alberti, *Boll. Com.* n.s. 13 [1965] 20), and it seems probable—all the more so since Valla evidently had a text with both readings (*sociorum itemque classarius*)—that the reading owes its presence in Nf to collation with H or a kindred ms.

two 'traditions', let alone postulating a 'prearchetype' to serve as the common ancestor of  $\Theta$  and  $A$  (cf. LVII p. 47); similarly with  $\Theta$  and  $\Omega$ . No stemmatic relationship can be affirmed on the basis of isolated or sporadic concurrence, whether in error or in truth, and the papyri give no grounds for projecting  $\Theta$ , or  $A$ , or  $\Omega$  back into antiquity as separate lines of tradition.<sup>2</sup> I would say the same of the other hypothesized sources,  $\Xi$  and  $\Phi$  and  $\Psi$ . The concurrences that P. Bodmer XXVII shows with variants entered in H and other recs. certainly give impressive confirmation of access to ancient readings from which the vetustiores were cut off (especially in bks. i-vi: matters would look rather different if the source available to B for the last two books had been available for the earlier books too), but the papyrus lends no substance to the notion of a discrete  $\Xi$  tradition in antiquity.

Hude's 1898 'editio maxima' has been relied on for the readings of the 'optimi' (CG [=c; for G see LVII p. 47 f.], ABEFM [=b up to vi 92.5], H from vi 92 to vii 50). For the recentiores, whose importance has increasingly been recognized, the 1942 OCT (revised by J. E. Powell) and the Budé edition have been used, with supplementary information drawn from G. B. Alberti's series of articles 'Questioni thucididee' in *Boll. Com.* (1957 onwards) and the preface to vol. I of his edition (Rome 1972) and from A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1965, hereafter 'Kleinlogel'). For books iii-v I have at the last moment also been able to consult vol. II of Alberti's edition (Rome 1992). I use B for B, but it must be remembered that from vi 92.5 (4105B-4112) it is effectively a different ms.

## 4100. THUCYDIDES i 25-26, 27-29, 31

88/243

Fr. 1 5 × 9 cm

Second-third century

Scraps from several columns of a roll of Thuc. i, written in an advanced 'severe' style of the later second or earlier third century. The back is blank. Column height by calculation c. 19-20 cm, occupied by c. 32 lines; width c. 6 cm. Upper margin (fr. 7) at least 2.8 cm. Apparently a three-grade punctuation system: middle stop, high stop, high stop + paragraphus. No other lectional aids in evidence.

The combined evidence of the fragments indicates that frr. 1, 2 and 3 + 4 are from three successive columns, that the next two columns are unrepresented, and that frr. 5, 6 and 7 + 8 come from the next three columns respectively. One new reading is indicated, in lacuna at fr. 1.7; there may also have been some textual discrepancy in fr. 8.

<sup>2</sup> A recent example, encountered since the above was written, will illustrate. It is argued on the basis of two agreements in supposed error between B and P. Yale I 19 in bk. vii (*ἐτελευτήθη* not *ἐτελεύτα* in 34.8 and *χρήσεσθαι* not *ἄν ... χρήσασθαι* in 36.5) that  $\Omega$  was already 'preformed' in the second century (G. B. Alberti, *Thucydides Historiae* vol. II [Rome 1992], xii-xiii). This would be unsound even if it were certain that the readings in question are false. All the papyrus does is confirm the antiquity of these two particular readings.

Fr. 1

τιμωρ]ιαν [ουc]αν· εν α [ (i 25.1)  
 πορω]ι ειχο[ντ]ο θεcθαι [·  
 το π]αρον· και πεμ[π]· [·  
 ψαν]τες εκ δελφους τον [·  
 5 θεον] επηροντο ει πα [·  
 ραδο]ιεν κ[ο]ρινθιοιc τ[η]ν  
 c.8 ] ωc οικικτ[αι]c  
 ] και τιμ[ωρ]ιαν τιν[α]  
 ] π[ε]ρωτ[ο] α]π αυτων [·  
 10 π]οι[ειcθ]αι [·ο δ] αυτοιc αν[ει]  
 λε] παραδ[ου]ναι και η [·  
 γεμοναc π]οικειcθαι· [ελ 25.2  
 θοντεc δε οι] επιδαμ[·  
 νιοι εκ την κο]ρινθον [·

Fr. 1

1 [ουc]αν suits the space well enough, but does not exclude Naber's conjectured *λοδσαν*.5 *ἐπήροντο* with **b**: *ἐπηρώτων* C < G >.7 *πόλιν* codd., too short. *αποικίαν* (cf. *παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀποικίαν* just below) looks about right for the space. *πολιν εφών* and *Επιδαμνον* are other possibilities.9 The iota is a subsequent addition apparently by another hand. The righthand side of the omega is unusually thick, and it may be that that too represents an added iota. To judge from the space, it looks as if the word was written unelided (as **b**).10 *αὐτοῖς* with **b** (and G ut vid.): *αὐτὴν* C γρ. G.

14 It is not quite certain that this is the last line of the column.

Fr. 2

9 Reiske's deletion of *γὰρ* is excluded.

Fr. 2

υπε]δε[ξαντο την τι (25.3)  
 μω]ριαν νομ[ιζον  
 τ]εc ουχ ηcσον [εαυτων  
 ει]ναι την απ[ο]ικ[ι]αν η  
 5 κερκ]υραι[ων] αμα δε [·  
 και μ]ικει των κερκυ [·  
 ραιων ο]τι αυτων παρ[η 25.4  
 μελο]υν οντεc αποι  
 κοι· ο]υτ[ε] γαρ ε]ν πανη [·  
 10 γυρεcι ταιc κο]ιναic [·  
 διδοντεc γερα τ]α νο  
 . . . . .

Fr. 3

]ναυτι[κον και ηcαν (25.4)  
 ουκ] αδυν[ατοι· τριη  
 ρειc γ]αρ εικοcι και εκα  
 τ]ον [υπηρ]χον αυτοιc  
 5 οτε η]ρχ]οντ[ο πολεμει]ν·  
 παν]των ουν [ 26.1  
 . . . . .

Fr. 5

δε κο]ρινθ[ιων νηεc πα  
 ραc]κεναζ[οντο τρια  
 κον]τα κα[ι τρι]cχιλιοι ο  
 πλιται]· επ[ει 28.1  
 . . . . .

Fr. 4

. . . . .  
 [ο]ικη[τορα τε τον βουλο  
 μεν[ον ιεναι κελευον  
 τες· κ[αι αμπρακιωτων  
 και λ[ευκαδιων και εαυ  
 των [φρουρους· επορευ 26.2  
 θ]ης[αν  
 . . . . .

Fr. 3

1 No telling whether in fact *ναυτικόν* (ABF C) or *ναυτικά* (EM G), since the latter is not significantly shorter.

5/6 A vestige of presumptive paragraphos perhaps visible.

Presumably four lines lost between fr. 3 and fr. 4.

Fr. 5, 6. The line divisions are only *exempli gratia*.

Fr. 5, 4 That the suspect *τριεχίλιοι* stood in the papyrus can only be a presumption, but it is consistent with the amount of space available, and any other figure in a papyrus of this date would be a surprise.

Fr. 7

]την επι[δαμνον κερ (29.1)  
 ]κυραιοι[ς  
 . . . . .

Fr. 8

ρι]ςτ̄ε̄υ[ς ο πελλιχου και καλ (29.2)  
 λ]ικρα[της ο καλλιου και τιμα  
 ]νωρ ο τ[ιμανθους του  
 δ]ε̄ πεζ̄[ου  
 . . . . .

Fr. 7–9. The line divisions are speculative.

Presumably two lines lost between fr. 7 and fr. 8.

fr. 8.1–2 As supplemented in accordance with the transmitted text (C omits the first δ) the first two lines are exceptionally long (not that there is any certainty about the line divisions); even without the two *καίς* they would still be on the long side; but it would be strange if the fathers' names were dispensed with.

M. W. HASLAM

Fr. 6

π]οιειν· ει [δε μη και αυτοι (28.3)  
 α]ναγκα[ςθησεσθαι ε  
 φας]αυ [ . . . . .

Fr. 9

. . . . .  
 των ευ]ρικεσθα[ι· οι δε 31.3  
 κορι]νθιοι πυθο[μενοι  
 ταυ]τα ηλθον κ[αι  
 . . . . .

## 4101. THUCYDIDES iv 19–20

103/101(b)

3.0 × 6.2 cm

Third century

A scrap broken on all sides, written in an upright version of the 'severe' style, executed with panache; the tails of τ, υ and especially ρ descend well below the line, α takes exaggeratedly angular form. I would assign this specimen to the third century rather than the second. On the back, documentary remains, perhaps of an account.

. . . . .  
 κ]α[ι  
 παρα γνωμην διακινδ]υνευ[  
 ει· ημιν δε καλω]ς ειπερ πο[ iv 20.1  
 τε εχει αμφοτερο]ις η ξυναλ[  
 5 λαγη πριν τι ανηκεστο]ν δια με[  
 σου γενομενον ημας] καταλ[α  
 βειν εν ωι αναγκη αιδιον] υμιν[  
 εχθραν προς τη κοινη] και ιδ[ι  
 αν εχειω υμας δε στε]ρηθηνα[ι  
 . . . . .

The line divisions given in the transcript are only *exempli gratia*.

7 ἡμῖν (coni. Classen) is excluded. In 9 of course ἡμᾶς (C<sup>a-c</sup>) is possible.

M. W. HASLAM

## 4102. THUCYDIDES v 18

101/26(c)

Fr. 2 4.6 × 8.5 cm

Second–third century

Two fragments written in an undistinguished 'severe' style not I think to be identified with the hand of any other of the manuscripts published here or in volume LVII, nor with that of P. Erl. 9 (Thuc. v: C. Gallazzi, *ZPE* 49 [1982] 39–41, with Taf. IIa), assignable to the latter half of the second century or the beginning of the third. Column width by calculation c. 5 cm. A circumflex accent at 2.3 is the only item of lectional apparatus in evidence.

That accent protects *εμμενω* from being taken as present, as in the medieval mss. And at 2.13 the papyrus preserves *Ἀθήνη(ι)σι* against the mss' *Ἀθήναις*. Given these two points of superiority, it is all the more unfortunate that its text at the juncture of the two fragments, where the transmitted text is regarded as defective, is beyond secure

recovery; but the corruption there, if rightly recognized as such, is likely to have been of longer standing.

There is not quite textual overlap with XVII 2100 fr. 3 ii. The back is blank.

Fr. 1  
 . . . .  
 ]ναιο[υς προς λακεδαιμονι (v 18.9)  
 ο]υς κα[ι τους ξυμμαχους κα  
 ]τα πολ[εις· ομνυτων δε τον  
 ε]πιχω[ριον ορκον εκατεροι  
 . . . .  
 Fr. 2  
 . . . .  
 τ]ον [μεγιστον εξ εκαστης  
 ]πολε[ως ο δ ορκος εστω οδε·  
 ε]μμενω τ[αι]ς ξυν[θηκαις  
 κ]αι ταις σπονδαι[ς ταιςδε δι  
 5 κ]αιως κα[ι] αδολω[ς· εστω δε  
 λ]ακεδαιμονιοις [και τοις  
 ξυ]μμαχ[ο]ις κ[α]τα τ[α]υτα  
 ορ]κος προς αθηνα[ιους· τον  
 δε] ορκον αναρο[υ]σθαι κα  
 10 τ] ενιαυτον αμ[φοτερους·  
 ε]τηλας δε ετη[σαι ολυμπια  
 18.10  
 αι] και πυθοι [και ισθμοι και  
 αθ]ηνησι εν[ν] πολει και εν  
 15 λα]κεδαιμ[ονι εν αμυκλαι  
 ]...[  
 . . . .

The line divisions given for both frs. are uncertain but look likely enough. The lateral relation of the two fragments is established by the fibres on the back, but the fragments are discontinuous and the distance between them is not determinable on physical grounds.

Fr. 1.4–fr. 2.1 The supplements I have given, which imply that fr. 2.1 directly succeeded fr. 1.4 (something that cannot be physically confirmed), follow the mediievally transmitted text, generally recognized as being corrupt. That yields appropriate line lengths, whereas I see no way of comfortably accommodating the generally accepted addition *επτα και δεκα*, with or without *εξ*. *ιζ* cannot be excluded on external grounds, but in a text such as this numerals are invariably written out in full; if *ιζ* really has dropped out of the text

or been replaced by *εξ*, as the emendation postulates, it must have been at a much earlier stage. Or did *επτα και δεκα* drop out before *εξ εκα* by a kind of haplography? At all events, while the remains of fr. 2.1 could be otherwise assigned, it does look as if the papyrus had the same text as the medieval manuscripts.

Fr. 2.2 A paragraphus will have been lost; likewise in subsequent lines. I have supplied stops.

3 *εμμενω* F. Portus: *εμμενω* codd. (*εμμενω sine acc.* E, insignificant: Kleinlogel 153). In the papyrus there is a speck of ink above the line between the right hasta of *ν* and the left of *ω*; the papyrus is broken above. This is what I have taken for a remnant of a circumflex.

7 *κατὰ c* EZ: *καὶ κατὰ* ABFM. The direction of the stroke coming in to the top of the extant alpha I think suits *τ* not *κ*, excluding *κ[α] κατ[α]*. Whether *ταυτα* or *τα αυτα* was written there is no way of telling.

13 The papyrus' *αθηνησι* accords with Herwerden's correction of *Αθηναίς* to *Αθήνησιν*. This makes it likelier that the papyrus in the previous line had not *ισθμοι* (all reported mss.) but *ισθμοι*. *Αθήνησιν* is not wholly without representation among the medieval manuscripts. J. E. Powell in the revised O.C.T. apparatus reported it in 'recc.', and Alberti reports it in Vm (Palatinus gr. 133); no mention in Kleinlogel. In view of the affiliation between Vm, Pf, and Mb (Alberti, *Thucydides Historiae* vol. I, lxxvii–lxxviii, cf. lxxxv), it may be that the reading is in the latter two too, as well as in Vm's descripti (Ms, Sb, VI: Alberti, *Boll. Com.* n.s. 13, 1965, 17 f.).

15 Indeterminate letter-top traces consistent with *εν αμυκλαι|ω ει δε| τ| αμ[νημονουσι]*, as transmitted.

M. W. HASLAM

#### 4103. THUCYDIDES v 35

19 2B.74/F(g)

2.7 × 7.7 cm

First–second century

A scrap from a column foot, written in a formal round and upright hand, strictly bilinear and lightly decorated; a date towards the end of the first or the beginning of the second century seems indicated. The lower margin was at least 4 cm deep. Punctuation by high point. Back blank.

. . . .  
 τ]ουτων ο[υ]ν ορωντες v 35.4  
 οι] αθηναιο[ι ουδεν εργα  
 γι]γνομενο[ν υπωπτει  
 ον] τους λακε[δαιμονιους  
 5 μ]ηδεν δικα[ιον διανο  
 ει]ςθαι· ωστ[ε ουτε πυλον  
 απ]αιτουντ[ων]

There is no certainty about the line divisions.

3 *υπόπτειον*, conjectured by Meineke and reported by Alberti in L and Q, is the accepted text: *υπετόπτειον* C<sup>3</sup>, *υπετόπειον* b <G>. Cf. viii 76.2. I would suppose either *υποπτειον* or *υπετοπειον* for the papyrus, though no worthwhile case can I believe be made for *υποσοπέω* in Thucydides. His regular

practice seems to have been to use *ὑποπτεύω*, but *ὑποποψησ-* is well attested, and the extent to which that should be altered to *ὑποπτευσ-* is an open question.

M. W. HASLAM

4104. THUCYDIDES v 50

101/21(d)

2.6 × 2.4 cm

Second-third century

A scrap written in an extreme 'severe' style of the later second or early third century; *ο* and *ε* are minimized. The columns must have been unusually narrow, less than 4 cm. Back blank.

$\epsilon\theta]  
 $\lambda\epsilon\pi\rho\epsilon\alpha[\tau\omega\nu\ \omicron$  v 50.3  
 $\mu[\omicron\iota]\zeta\ \delta[\epsilon\ \omicron\iota\ \eta\lambda\epsilon\iota$   
 $\omicron\iota\ \delta\epsilon\delta[\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \mu\eta$   
 5  $\beta\iota\alpha[$$

<sup>3</sup> *μωσ* ( $\delta$ ||*μωσ*) is what should have been written. Two thin converging lines have been drawn through *ο* and *ι* respectively, making a shallow v-shape; it gives no impression of *ω*. Perhaps the correct text was written in the margin, of which 5 mm survive at left and none to the right.

M. W. HASLAM

4105. THUCYDIDES vi 52–55, vii 2, 4

A 101/113(d)

A fr. 2 6.6 × 10.0 cm

Second-third century

B 65 6B.30/J(1–2)a + 31/O(1)a

B fr. 2 4.9 × 9.5 cm

Fragments of two codex leaves, from bks. vi and vii respectively, written on papyrus in a proficient workaday 'severe' style of medium size attributable I would suppose to the latter part of the second century, though the third can hardly be excluded. It is not certain that the two leaves (A and B) belonged actually to the same codex; the two pairs of fragments have different inventory numbers, so were apparently not found together. But I have brought them together on the basis of their apparently identical format. I presume a two-column page, with each pair of fragments representing the

column closer to the central fold. That enables reconstruction of a page of normal dimensions: page breadth somewhere in the region of 15 cm, height in the region of 24 cm (cf. E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, Table 1, esp. group 7). To postulate a single column to the page would give a page size of unexampled tallness and narrowness.

Column width was c. 5.5–6.0 cm, column height (on the assumption of two cols./page) may be calculated at c. 19 cm, occupied by about 40 lines. The upper margin seems to have been a bare 1 cm (B), but 3.5 cm was allowed for the lower (A); c. 1.5 cm or more between columns (A↔). No page numeration is in evidence. On this format bk. vi and bk. vii would each occupy about 32 leaves. The textual distance between A and B, amounting to perhaps 18 leaves, makes it unlikely that they come from the same quire, and it must remain in doubt whether or not bks. vi and vii were bound together. The situation is similar with LVII 3885 etc., another Thucydides codex of similar format and date. It is not out of the question that these were one-volume *Histories* (cf. Turner, *Typology*, 82 f., C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*, 71 f.), but they would be very fat books; the papyrus is not particularly thin, and the collemas-joints (one is in evidence in A, just as in XLIX 3450A) would increase both the thickness and the pressure on the binding. We could envisage two- or four-volume sets, or for that matter eight-volume, as (presumably) with rolls (cf. XVII 2100 + LVII 3891 + 4109 for a set of rolls, LVII 3890 for an end-title of bk. ii).

A and B each have their recto pages (recto in the codicological sense) written on the side on which the fibres run horizontally (corresponding to the recto or inside of a roll). If the codex was made up in the normal manner (cf. W. Schubart, *Das Buch*, 118, Turner, *Typology*, 65–7), each will come from the latter half of its quire. Here the textual position of B, close to the beginning of bk. vii, may be of relevance. The amount of text that precedes would occupy, pretty exactly, one page. If the quire from which B comes consisted of more than a single sheet, we may conclude that that quire contained the end of bk. vi, so that the codex comprised at least those two books (and therefore bks. v and viii as well?). The premise might seem reasonable, since single-sheet quires are exceptional (Turner, *Typology*, 60 f.). But in fact the possibility that B is the right-hand leaf of a *unio* (single-sheet quire), and that bk. vii was independent, must be seriously reckoned with. XLVII 3321 (Eur. *Phoen.*) offers a precise parallel. It would not have to be assumed that the entire codex was of *uniones*; it might even have been a practice to put a single sheet at the beginning.

A two-grade punctuation system is used: double dot (dicolon) for major stop, single (in mid-to-high position) for minor. This use of double dot, well attested in Plato manuscripts (XLVII 3326 intro.), is unusual in texts of historians. Initial *v* or *ι* is attended by trema, as conventionally, and elision is marked. Correction of a small scribal omission is made supralinearly at B↑ 13, apparently by the copyist himself. Iota adscript is not written.

At A↑ 21 the papyrus gives a reading otherwise found only as a variant recorded in H; such variants in H are recognized as reflecting use of a source unrepresented among the primary mss (B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide*, 55–60, A. Kleinogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter*, 1–40, Alberti, *praefatio* cix–cxxxix). At ↓ 18 it accords with C's spelling of a proper name. For bk. vii, represented by leaf B, the medieval tradition is further enriched by ms B's utilization of a different source (Ω). As usual, the papyrus shows no consistent agreement: with B at B↔ 19, 25(?) and ↓ 21, against B at ↔ 26(?), 28 and ↓ 26. (The primary readings of H do not become of interest until vii 5.1, from which point it largely deserts B in favour of ξ.) At B↔ 6–8 the papyrus seems to have had a slightly longer text than transmitted.

A↔

αρπ]αγη[ν ποι (vi 52.2)  
 ησαμενοι] και των ζ[υρα  
 κοσιων ιπ]πεων β[οηθη  
 καντων] και των ψιλ[ων τι  
 5 νας εκκεδ]αμμενους δ[ια  
 φθειραντ]ων απεκομι[ε  
 θησαν εκ κ]ατανην: και 53.1  
 c. 15 lines gone  
 ] μυστη[ρια (53.2)  
 και των περ]ι τους ε[ρμας  
 10 δρασθεντω]ν: και [ου δοκι  
 μαζοντες] τους μ[ηνυτας  
 αλλα] παντα υποπ[τως απο  
 δεχομ]εν[οι: δια πο]ν[ηρων  
 ανθρ]ωπων πιστ[ιν πανυ  
 15 χρηστο]υς των πο[λιτων  
 ξυλλ]α[μβα]νοντες κα[τε  
 δου]ν: χρησιμωτερον η  
 γο]υμενοι ειναι βασανι  
 20 κα]ι το πραγμα και ευρειω  
 η] δια μηνυτου πονηρι[  
 α]ν τινα και χρηστον δ[ο

A↑

π]αππ[ου εχων του (vi 54.6)  
 ]νομα [ο]ς [των δωδε  
 ]κα θεων β[ωμον τον εν  
 τ]η αγορα αρ[χων ανεθηκε  
 5 και τον του α[πολλωνος εν  
 πυθ]ιου: και [τω μεν εν τη 54.7  
 αγορα προςοι]κοδομησας  
 c. 17 lines gone  
 των γν]η[σιων αδελφων (55.1)  
 γενο]μενοι [ως ο τε βωμος  
 10 σημα]νει κ[αι η στηλη η(?)  
 περι τ]ης τω[ν τυραννων α  
 δικια]ς: η εν τη αθ[ηναιων α  
 κροπ]ολει στα[θ]εισα [εν η θεε  
 15 καλο]υ μεν ουδ' ιπ[παρ  
 χου ου]δ'εις παις γεγραπ[ται  
 ιππιο]υ δε πεντε: οι αυ[τω  
 εκ μυ]ρρινης της καλ[λιου  
 του] υπεροχιδου θυγατρ[ος  
 20 εγε]ροντο: εικος γαρ ην τ[ον  
 πρ]εσβυτατον πρωτον [γη  
 μ]αι: και εν τη αυτη [στη 55.2

A↔

8 After η there are residual traces on a loose fibre, unassignable.

13 The double point is not quite certain; only the upper point is clear.

17 Of the double point only the lower survives.

20 η was evidently present: om. E.

21 The τ of τινα has a tiny dot each side of the leg, inconspicuous but not evidently casual. I wonder if the dots were placed before the page was written, to mark the point where the last line was to begin. I see no sign of any such pricking system on the verso, but there too the actual line beginning is lost. Cf. XLVII 3321 27, where a dot appears to mark the point where the codex's recto column is to begin, and more generally Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 4.

A↑

1–2 There is no way of telling whether τουννομα or το ονομα was written.

10 There is no knowing whether or not the papyrus had the second article, which is attested only as a variant in H (H<sup>2</sup>) and in Ot (Ot<sup>3</sup>) and is accordingly associated with the ξ tradition (Kleinogel, 80 f.). The papyrus has a comparable reading at 21 below.

18 Ὑπεροχιδου with C, correctly as it seems (*JG* xii Suppl. 2.125): Ὑπερεχιδου b G.



21 *ἀτῆ*: the manuscripts all give *πρώτη*, but *ἀτῆ*, which was conjectured by Poppe and is accepted by editors, is entered as a variant in H (man. rec. = H<sup>2</sup>) and is implied by Valla's *ipso*, i.e. it belongs to the tradition highlighted by Hemmerdinger and now known as ξ. Cf. on 10 above.

**B↔**

ταιος] ορμηθ[εις πρωτος (vii 2.1)  
 μεν α]φικν[ειται ες τας  
 κυρα]κ[ο]υ[σ]α[ς]· [ολιγον δε προ  
 γυλι]ππου[· και καταλα  
 5 βων] αυτους [περι απαλλα  
 γης τ]ου πολ[εμου  
 c. 4 ] . . . ας . [  
 c. 4 ] . δι[εκωλυσε τε και  
 παρε]θαρσ[υ]νε λεγων  
 10 οτι ν]ηε[ς  
 c. 6 lines gone  
 γυλιππω ε]υ[θ]υς παν (2.3)  
 στ]ρατια ως απ[αντησομε  
 νοι] εξηλθον[· ηδη γαρ και  
 [εγγυς οντα η]θανοντο]  
 15 [αυτον· ο δε ιετας τοτε τει  
 χος] εν τη παρο[δω των  
 κικ]ελων ελω[ν και ξυν  
 τα]ξαμενος ως [εσ μαχην  
 αφ]ικνε[ι]ται π[ρος τας επι  
 20 ]πολας και αναβ[ας κατα τον  
 ε]υρρηλον ηπε[ρ και οι αθη  
 ναιοι το πρωτον [εχωρει  
 μετα των κυρα]κοσιων  
 επι το τειχι[σμα [των α  
 25 θηναιων ε]τυγ[χανε  
 κατα τουτο και]ρου ελθων  
 εν ω επτα μεν [η οκτω  
 σταδιων ηδη επ]ετετε  
 λε[ς]το [τοις αθ]ηνα[ιοις  
 . . . . .

A collema-join runs down both fragments, fixing their relative lateral position.

**B↑**

οι δ αθη]ναιοι: ε[τυχον γαρ 4.3  
 εξω αυλι]ζομε[νοι ως ης  
 θοντο αν]τεπηε[σαν· ο δε  
 γνους κα]τα ταχο[ς απηγαγε  
 5 τους σφετ]ερους π[αλιν επ  
 οικοδομη]σαντε[ς δε αυτο οι  
 αθηναιοι]· υψη[λοτερον αυ  
 τοι μεν ταυ]τη ε[φυλαττον  
 τους δε αλλο]υς ξυμ[μαχους  
 10 κατα το αλλο] τε[ιχισμα  
 c. 6 lines gone  
 λεως ηπερ] προυχο]υσα του (4.4)  
 μεγαλου] λιμενος [το στο  
 μα στενο]ν ποιει και [ει]· τ[ειχισθει  
 η ραων α]υτω εφαι[νετο η  
 15 εσκομιδ]η των επ[ιτηδει  
 ων εσεσθ]αι: δι[α]ελατ[το  
 νος γαρ π]ρος τω λιμενι  
 τω των σ]υρακοσιων [ε  
 φορμησε]ιν σφας και [ουχ ως  
 20 περ νυν εκ]μυχου του λι[με  
 νος τας επ]αναγωγας π[οι  
 ησεσθαι] ην τι ναυτικω  
 κειν]ωνται: προσειχε  
 τε ηδη] μαλλον τω κατα  
 25 θαλαττα]ν πολεμω ορω[ν  
 τα εκ τη]ς γης σφισιν επε[ι  
 δη ο γυ]λιππος ηκεν α[νελ  
 πιστοτε]ρα οντα: διακομ[ι  
 30 νους ε]ξετειχι[σε  
 . . . . .

**B↔**

6–8 After τοῦ πολέμου the transmitted text runs μέλλοντας ἐκκλησιάσειν διεκώλυσε τε κτλ., with no variants attested. The papyrus evidently had more. Of line 7 only letter-tops are visible, the surface stripped below.

ac seems recognizable: as between *μελλοντας* and *εκκλησιασειν* the latter seems better accommodated to the traces (if τ before ac the top should be visible), and *πολ[εμου μελλοντας]εκκλη]ησιασε[ιν* would make a good enough fit for the space too. In that case we must reckon with extra text between *εκκλησιασειν* and *διεκωλυσε*. Before δι[ in line 8 are traces on the line, not readily decipherable (the rightmost trace could be the lower point of a dicolon). An inversion of *μελλοντας* and *εκκλησιασειν* is a possibility but would leave the latter part of line 6 unaccounted for, and on balance I think it likelier that something intervened after γ *εκκλη]ησιασε[ιν*. (There is no guarantee that the textual variation did not extend further fore or aft, but there is no reason to think it did.) *αυτους* would hardly fill the space; *εκεινους* might.

14-15 The surface is stripped, and no text remains, so there is no telling whether *ιετας* or the direct tradition's *γετας* was written, nor whether τ*ι* was present before τ*ειχος*, though considerations of space marginally suggest not.

17-18 Herwerden's deletion of κα*ι* receives no support. ξ*υνταξόμενος* AE.

19 π*ρος* with B, not *ε*c.

25-26 Severe abrasion makes the readings uncertain and somewhat impressionistic. The paradosis is divided essentially between *ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καιροῦ* (BH) and *ἔτυχε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο καιροῦ*. I have given *ετυγχανε* not *ετυχε* in the transcript purely on the basis of line-length: what is left of the ink itself is indeterminate. The line is on the short side even so: shifting *ελθων* after *ετυχεν* would take care of that, but would leave 26 short in turn (if that is rightly transcribed, no routine proviso); perhaps *ετυγχανεν* was written (with final nu), probably enough to fill the line. In 26 I am fairly certain of *τοῦτο*, though the remains are scant; what follows seems to suggest *καιρου* rather than *του*, but I could be deceived.

28 *επ*[: not *απ*- with BH.

**B**† The given line divisions cannot claim to be better than approximate. They are based on the apparently (but uncertainly) extant line endings in the lower part of the fragment.

2 For ξ*ξω* Vd gives ἦδη, not excluded; ξ*ξω* ἦδη J.

3 *αντεπηεσαν* (-*ηεσαν*) is in accordance with the mss' habitual spelling; editors as habitually change to -*ησαν*.

13 The supralineation, which appears to be by the copyist himself, is κα*ι*[, preceded by a dot. My reconstruction assumes that the scribe inadvertently omitted *καιει* after *ποιει* by homoeoteleuton.

14 I have supplied *ραων* (C) rather than *ραον* on grounds of space, but no reliance should be put on it, especially since the line divisions are uncertain.

16 *a* is crossed through, cancelling the scriptio plena. At the end τ[ is represented by a speck on the broken edge, suitable for τ but hardly for c (*ἐλάσσονος* codd.: at least *ἐλάττονος* is not reported).

19-20 The reconstruction makes line 19 extend rather far to the right. ο*υχ*|*ω*c *νν* would make a better fit, but would be contrary to Thucydidean usage.

21 *ἐπαναγωγὰς* with BH, not *ἐπαγωγὰς*.

22 The abrasion in the latter part of the line is such that I cannot be sure that τ*ι ναυτικω* was written rather than τ*α ναυτικω* with BH.

26 Only the first letter of *σφίσι* is at all determinate, but that is enough to exclude ἦδη, reported by Hude as intervening after γ*ης* in BH (in the OCT, however, it is reported as following *σφίσι*; that too seems excluded for the papyrus). *σφίσι* CE a.c.

27 It is not certain that the papyrus had *ο* with BH. BH spell *Γύλλιππος*.

M. W. HASLAM

#### 4106. THUCYDIDES vii 9-10

30 4B.40/E(1-4)b

2.9 × 5.1 cm

Second century

A scrap broken on all sides written in an nondescript 'severe' style not I think identical with the hand of any other of the manuscripts published here or in LVII, assignable to the second half of the second century. Back blank.

τριηρει]ς εκ του ποτ[α  
 μου επολιορκει]ορμωμε[νο  
 εξ μεραιου· και] το θερος ετ[ε  
 λευτα τουτο· του δ ε]πιγιγνομ[ε vii 10  
 5 νου χειμωνος ηκον]τες ες τας [αθη  
 νας οι παρα του ν]εικιου οσα τε [α  
 πο γλωσσης ειρη]το αυτοις ειπ[ον  
 και ει τις τι ηρω]τα απε[κρινον  
 το και την επιστο]λην απ[εδο

The line divisions are purely speculative.

4 Considerations of space indicate that *τοῦτο*, absent from AFM, was present.

8 Considerations of space favour *ἡρώτα* rather than *ἐπηρώτα* with B H, though perhaps not definitely so. Whether *ἀπεκρίνοντο* (B [*ἀπεκρίνον τὸ*] H C) or *-αντο* (AEFM G) was written there is no telling.

M. W. HASLAM

#### 4107. THUCYDIDES vii 23

29 4B.46/K(4)a

8.7 × 13.2 cm

Second century

Column foot, with vestigial remains of both adjacent columns, written in a good medium-sized bilinear upright hand attributable I suppose to the second century. Downstrokes sometimes terminate with slight hooks, μ is deep and narrow, ε has high mid-stroke often making contact with the extremity of the upper arc but not extending beyond it. The script is similar to that of LVII 3901 (Thuc. iv) but shows less flair and more lateral compression; it is this latter feature, giving some impression of tallness, that chiefly distinguishes the hand from such classic round and upright scripts as P. Lit. Lond 30 (Seider, *Pal. der gr. Pap.* II 19); we may view it as a grander version of XV 1809 (Turner, *GMAW* 19, not in my opinion by the same hand as XVII 2076, *GMAW* 18). That this was a de luxe edition is made clear by the extremely generous lower margin, at least 8 cm deep. Column width 5 cm, height undeterminable; intercolumnium c. 1.7 cm. Filler-signs aid in justifying the right margin. Iota adscript is written. The back is blank.



## 4109. THUCYDIDES viii 40-41, 46-7, 85, 92, 96-97, 104

87/334(a)

Fr. 1 6.5 × 8.5 cm

Second century

These fragments are by the same hand as XVII 2100 (*Π*<sup>24</sup>), which gives remnants of bks. iv and v as well as bk. viii,<sup>1</sup> and LVII 3891, which has remains of bk. iii, and evidently come from the same set of rolls.

Fr. 9, though it does seem to have some connexion with the Thucydidean text, is textually anomalous. It may be a scholium that has infiltrated the main body of the text.

At fr. 2 ii 2 (viii 46 fin.) *ξυνεπολέμει* was evidently present, as in B; the word's omission is an extraordinary *Leitfehler* of the rest of the tradition. The papyrus sides again with B at fr. 4.4, but goes against B at fr. 3.7. This inconsistency is in line with the picture presented by 2100 and other papyri of bks. vii or viii.<sup>2</sup> An omission at fr. 8.3/4 coincides with an omission in C, but I do not think it is a significant conjunction.

## Fr. 1

μ]αχο[υς προθυμους οντας ωρ  
μ]ητο[ς ες το βοηθειν· εν τουτω δε viii 41.1  
εκ της κ[α]υ[νου παραγιγνεται  
αγγελια οτι [αι επτα και εικοσι  
5 νηες και οι τω[ν λακεδαιμονι  
ων ξυμβο[υλοι παρεισι· και νο  
μικας παντα [υστερα ειναι ταλ  
λα προς το γα[υς τε οπως θαλασσο  
κρατοιεν μα[λλον τοσαυτας ξυμ  
10 παρακομισαι [και τους λακεδαι  
μονιους οι ηκ[ον κατασ]κο[ποι  
αυτου ασφαλω[ς πειραιω]θη[ναι  
ε]υθυς αφει[ς το ες την] χιον ε  
πλει ες την κ[αυνον·] κ[αι] ες κω[υ

Severely abraded; most of the ink has gone; where none remains at all, I put square brackets. There is a sheet-joint about 2.5 cm in from the line of break at the left; c. 1.5 papyrus overlap.

<sup>1</sup> Of the unidentified scraps of 2100, fr. 15 is from v 10 (*BASP* 27 [1990] 43), and it may be suspected that fr. 16 is from iv 38.1 (*κειμε]νου ω[ς τεθνεωτος αυτος τρι]τος εφη[ιρημενος κτλ]*).

<sup>2</sup> The statements made about B at XLIX p. 88 are misinformed. (And it should be noted that the primary text of 3451 concurs with B in going without *καλούμενον* at viii 34: the word was added evidently by collation against another exemplar.)

## Fr. 2

col. i

col. ii

λογο]ν τε ξυμ (46.3)  
φορωτατον και το εργον εχ]ον-  
τας πολεμειν· τους μ]εν γαρ-  
5 ξυγκαταδουλον] αν ρφι[ς]ι τε  
αυτοις το της θαλας]σης μερος  
και εκεινω οσοι εν τη] βασιλε

ωστε λαν]θαν[ειν ου προθυ  
μω[ς] ξ[υ]νε[πολεμει· ο δε αλ 47.1  
κιβιαδ[η]ς τ[αυτα αμα μεν τωι  
τισσαφ[ερνει και τωι βασιλει  
5 ων παρ εκειν]οις α[ριστα ειναι  
νομιζων [π]αρην[ει αμα δε  
την εαυτου καθοδο]ν ες την  
πατριδα επιθεραπ[ευων ει  
δωσ ει μη δι]α[φθε]ρει αυτην  
10 οτι εσται ποτε α[υτωι πεισαν  
τι κατελθειν· πει[σαι δ αν ενο  
μιζεν μαλιστα [εκ του τοιου  
τ[ου ει τ]ιςαφεργη[ς φαινοιτο  
αυτω επι]τηδειος [ων

## Fr. 3

νη]ν φα[ι]ν[ειν φθειροντα των πελο  
ποννησιων τα [πραγματα  
μετ αλκιβιαδου] [και επαμφο  
τερ[ι]ζοντα εχθρ[α δε προς αυ 85.3  
5 τον ην αυτωι α[ει ποτε περι του  
μισθου της απο]δοσεως· και  
τα τελευταια φυ[γοντος εκ συ  
ρακ[ο]υσων του [ερμοκρατους  
και ετερων ηκον]των

## Fr. 4

οι] γὰρ εν (92.4)  
 τωι πει]ραιοι τ[ο τη]ς η[ε]τι[ω  
 νειας] τειχος οπ[λ]ειται οικ[ο  
 δομου]ντες εν ο[ις] και ο αρις[το  
 5 κρατη]ς ην ταξιαρχων και τ[ην

## Fr. 5

και] αι νη (96.4)  
 κοι και τα μεχρι ευβοιας και] ως  
 ειπειν η αθηναίων αρχη] πα  
 σα· αλλ ουκ εν τουτωι μον]ωι  
 5 λακεδαιμονιοι αθηναιοι]ς

## Fr. 7

] αργαμ[ενοι α  
 πο ιδακου] μεχρι α[ρριανων  
 νηες εξ και εβδομη]κοντα·  
 κερας δε τοις μεν [πελοπον 104.3

## Fr. 6

α[ι αφ ων και νομοθετας και (97.2)  
 τα[λλα εψηφισαντο εκ την πο  
 λιτ[ειαν· και ουχ ηκιστα δη τον  
 πρω[τον χρονον επι γε εμου α  
 5 θηναι]οι φαινονται εν πολι  
 τευσαν[τες· μετρια γαρ η τε  
 εκ τους [ολιγους και τους πολ  
 λους ξ[υγκρασις εγενετο και  
 εις πον[ηρων των πραγμα  
 10 τω]ν γε[νομενων τουτο πρω  
 τον αν[ηνεγκε την πολιν·  
 ε]ψηφ[ισαντο δε και αλκιβια 97.3  
 δην [και αλλους μετ αυτου  
 κατιε]ναι

5 νησιοις ειχον [το μεν δεξι  
 ον κυρα[κοιοι το δ ετερον  
 αυτ[ος  
 . . .

2100 fr. 13 will come either from the preceding column or from the upper part of this one.

## Fr. 8

] . εστα[  
 ] . [

## Fr. 9

το δευτερον εν[  
 stripped [   
 ταινηδετοιοι[  
 θιαταπρωταταδε[  
 5 το . . . . ισειεστ . [   
 [[ει]]δετομ' πρωτ . [   
 δετε . ωφιλιωθ[  
 κα . . ριταδιαγ[  
 stripped [   
 10 . α . . . . ε . . [

4 After θια, some ink above the line: a clumsily made high stop?, υ?, casual? ω seemingly remade from ο 5 See comm. 8 After κα, ιτ poss., not πε 9 A few vestiges remain, wholly indeterminate 10 See comm.

## Fr. 1

7–8 τᾶλλα B: τὰ ἄλλα cett. The papyrus writes ταλλα with B at 6.4 (2100 fr. 6.3): that it does so here too cannot be confirmed. Likewise at fr. 6.2 below. B also writes θαλαττο-, but 2100 consistently has -cc-.  
 9 For ξυμπαρακομῖαι Hude conjectured ξυμπαρακομικθῆναι, excluded.

## Fr. 2 col. i

1–2 Or ξυμφερώτατον with B Ud.  
 6 εκεινωι: the medieval manuscripts present a wide variety of endings (see Kleinlogel p. 115 with n. 18): again there is no telling what the papyrus had.

col. ii

2 The remains are adequate to show that *ξυεπολέμει* was present in the papyrus as in B: om. cett. Since *προθύμως* has sometimes been suspected I should add that *-μφ[ε]* looks a good reading: not *|υορ* or *|μενορ* or *|μορ*.

4 *τωι* was not certainly present but suits the amount of space available.

10 *ποτε α[υ]τοι: αὐτῶ ποτε* a few Ψ-recc. (Pe Ve Vd: Kleinlogel pp. 69, 73).

12 *-μζεν: -ζε* codd. (at least, *-ζεν* not reported).

Fr. 3. There are vestigial traces of ink from preceding lines on loose fibres at the top of the fragment, quite indeterminate.

1 The paradosis is *δε ἔμελλε τὸν Τιτσαφέρην ἀποφαίνεν φθείροντα κτλ.*, which I cannot readily square with the remains on the papyrus. *γφ* is fairly clear, but expectation of *|ρει|ν φθείροντα* is frustrated by what follows: letter-foot traces in damaged context, first suggesting *α* though perhaps not excluding *θ*, second lower right-hand part of apparent *ν*, hardly *ει. φα[ε]γ[ειν]* matches the traces without forcing (there are additionally a few scattered specks on a loose fibre thereafter, quite indeterminate and not represented in the transcript); but *απ|ο* did not precede, and confidence is further weakened by the undesirably long line that results; one could image *φθείροντα* before *τὸν Τιτσαφέρην*, but there is just too little to go on.

3 *μετ* is represented by the merest specks but I do think *μετ αλκ-* rather than *μετα αλκ-* was written.

4, 6 Initial paragraphoi may have been lost to abrasion, very severe at the line beginnings.

7 *διαφυγόντος* B, excluded for the papyrus. (I would suppose the compound to be right, however. *δια* would easily disappear after *αια.*)

7-8 *κυ|ρακ[ο]υρρων:* the spelling with double sigma is well attested.

Fr. 4. There is textual overlap with *Π<sup>1</sup>* (ed. C. Wessely, *WS* 7 [1885] 116 ff.).

2 There appears to be a horizontal line above the surviving (left) hasta of *η*. It does not look much like a breathing (whether rough or smooth) but I have no other suggestion for it.

3 *σπλευτ-*: for the spelling cf. **2100** fr. 8 ii 24, cf. i 11, fr. 5 ii 26.

4 *δ* with B: om. cett.

Fr. 5

2 *Εὐβοίας:* or *Βοιωτίας* with B.

Fr. 6

2 *τα[λλα* or *τα [αλλα:* as at fr. 1.7-8 above.

3 No paragraphus.

6 *ἦ τε:* or *ἦ γε* with B or *ἦδε* with Stahl.

7 Considerations of space suggest that the papyrus did not repeat *ἐς* before *τοὺς πολλοὺς* with B.

8 *ἐγένετο:* or *ἐγίνετο* (or *ἐγένετο*) with B.

10 A paragraphus here, but apparently not at 11 (though there damage may just possibly have removed it). Perhaps it was placed one line too early: cf. **3891** ii 10, 11, with n. ad loc.

Fr. 7

1-3 There is apparently a lacuna in the papyrus' text: after line 3 there should be another clause, transmitted as *οἱ δ' αὖ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου μέχρι Δαρδάνου, νῆες δὲ κτῶ καὶ ἐξήκοντα*. Matters are complicated by (i) suspicion attaching to the figure, the conjectured *ἐξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα* being usually accepted in place of *δὲ κτῶ καὶ ἐξήκοντα* (a postulated error of mental inversion), and (ii) a lacuna in C, identical to the papyrus' except that C has *ὀγδοήκοντα* not *ἐβδομήκοντα*. The shorter text is indefensible, but I would suppose C's and the papyrus' omissions to be independent. This is necessarily the case if Andrewes is right in saying that C's *ὀγδοήκοντα* 'has slipped in here from the next line,' for that can't be so unless *ἐξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα* rather than *δὲ κτῶ καὶ ἐξήκοντα* stood in C's exemplar and the jump occurred in the course of copying the repeated *νῆες ἐξ καὶ*, whereas in the papyrus it evidently didn't occur until the following word (since *εβδομ-* belongs exclusively to the first clause); but it is conceivable that C's *ὀγδοήκοντα* is subsequent to the omission,

unthinkingly substituted for *ἐβδομήκοντα* under influence from 103.1. Still, *saut du même au même* is all but inevitable when there is so much *même* to facilitate it (and the scribe has the end of the work in sight), and C's different text gives no encouragement to supposing that C and the papyrus derive the error from a common source. There is no telling whether or not in the papyrus the error was caught and the omission made good (cf. **2100** fr. 2.6 *margin:* here the right margin is lost). Nor does the papyrus afford any clue as to what figure stood in the exemplar in the missing clause.

Fr. 8. Unplaced. I find no match in bk. viii; this is not surprising if it is to be associated with the next fragment.

Fr. 9. Unidentified. The fragment gives no external hint that it is not on a par with the others. But it is not. The first line could be *τὸ δεύτερον ἐν[ί]κα*, a phrase which occurs in bk. iii (8.1, also Paus. 4.23.10). But the rest of the text does not coincide with any part of our Thucydides. Very strange.

It may be commentary. The compendium *μ(έν)* seems to occur in line 6, and *γ* in 8 and *ε̄(?)* in 10 similarly suggest that this may be something other than regular book-text. The best guess I can make is that it is a note associated with the mention of Dorieus at viii 35, adducing the bk. iii reference to him (that runs *ἦν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς ἡ Δωριεύς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐν[ί]κα*). But notes belong in the margin, whereas what we have here has every appearance of the beginning of a regular column of the Thucydidean text. But I see no reasonable way of taking it as actually Thucydidean. Thus I take it that we are confronted with a case of elevation of scholiastic material into the body of the text, the incorporation being due presumably to a copyist who mistook the marginal note for a portion of text inadvertently omitted by his predecessor. Such things do happen, though more often on a smaller scale; cf. perhaps Cic. *de off.* 3.31.112 *ad fin.* (though that seems to be a deliberate interpolation).

The most detailed extant sources for the athletically brilliant career of Dorieus are *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 82 and Paus. 6.7.1-7 (cf. Tod, *CQ* 43 [1949] 106); Pausanias cites Androtion *Atthis*, but only for his sticky end. The mediævally transmitted Thuc. scholia have no counterpart either in bk. iii or in bk. viii to what we find in the papyrus.

3 could be *ἦν δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον, τοιόνδε*. At 3-4 *Πύ]θια* seems likely, cf. Paus. 6.7.4 *λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πύθια ἀνέλοιτο ἀκοντί, SIG<sup>3</sup>* 82.3 *Πύ]θια τετράκις*. In 5 *τοιούταις* would suit the abraded traces (I do not think *δίς* is to be read); then perhaps *εἰ ἐστι*. 6 apparently *[[εἰ] δὲ τὸ μ(έν) πρῶτον]*. In 7 the letter-trace before *ω* suggests *τ* and I think excludes *οἰ]* *δετέρω* (a long shot: *ἐσπεν]* *δέ τε τῶ φίλιω θ[εῶ]*). 8 could be *καὶ τρίτα* *διὰ γ;* the bar over the gamma should exclude *Διαγορ* (Diagoras Dorieus' father, Thuc. viii 35.1). In 10, after the first indeterminate trace the best reading seems to be *αρ̄ε̄*, which suggests *γὰρ ε̄*; but *ἦ*, which I would find much more tractable than *ε̄* (whether or not with reference to Dorieus' eight Isthmian victories), is perhaps not excluded; then *γεω[* e.g. *γεώ]εται* is possible.

M. W. HASLAM

## 4110. THUCYDIDES viii 73

112/23(b)

4.5 × 7.8 cm

Second century

A fragment from the top of a single column, written in a neat and fluent smaller than average 'severe' style assignable to the second half of the second century. The back is blank. The upper margin was at least 4.8 cm. Three lightly made high stops, evidently original, are the only lectional aids in evidence. Iota adscript is written. A textual alteration in line 6 introduces a new reading, in which however I see no merit.

]δημου εφερον τη[ν (viii 73.4)  
 ο]λιγαρχιαν· το με[λ  
 λο]ν σημαινουσι· κα[ι  
 θρ]ακυβουλωι και θρα[κυλ  
 5 λ]ωι· τωι μεν τριηρα[ρ  
 χο]υντι τωι δε [[ο]]π'ό'λε[ι  
 τευοντ]ι κ[αι αλ]λοισ [οι

5-6 How *Θρακυλ(λ)ωι* was spelled is not clear. *θρα[κυ-* would give better uniformity of line-end than *θρα[κυλ-* (*λ*)ωι will in any event have stood at the beginning of line 5), but that is not much to go on. The medieval manuscripts are reported as all giving -λ- here, but B transmits -λλ- elsewhere, and Andrewes adduces inscriptional evidence to show that that is the correct form.

6 Between π and λ has been inserted ο, seemingly by the first hand, and the original ο in front of π has been crossed out. The paradosis, with which the papyrus' original text evidently coincided (with -ει- for -ι-), is *ὀπλιτεύοντι*. It seems that here this was altered to *πολει-*. I take it the intention was simply *πολ(ε)ιτεύοντι*, but it is possible that the alteration was carried through to the next line. Variation between *ὀπλιτών* and *πολλών* is reflected in the tradition at 94.1.

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4111. THUCYDIDES viii 87.5, 88

70/6(b)

8.5 × 5.1 cm

Second century

On the front, the top of two consecutive columns of Thuc. viii, defaced by a couple of inscriptions in accomplished 3rd-cent. documentary hands. And on the back, written in an informal but practised 3rd-cent. hand quite different from that of the Thucydides, the beginning of the Iliad.

The Thucydides is written in a very plain informal round slightly backward-sloping somewhat flattened smallish well-spaced hand which may be assigned to the second century; roughly comparable hands may be seen in E. G. Turner *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> nos. 17 (Sappho) and 39 (Herodas). Assuming no major textual discrepancy in col. i we may calculate a column height of c. 26 cm, occupied by c. 45 lines; column width will have been c. 6 cm; c. 2 cm between columns. The punctuation is not in evidence. Iota adscript at i 7.

The manuscript does not give the impression of being anything other than a routine copy of bk. viii, but it is odd that it should have attracted at this point not only the onomastic doodles but also the Iliad opening on the back. From that alone it might have been surmised that the main text belonged to the end of a roll: perhaps the roll had lost its latter portion.

A copying error at ii 1, uncorrected.

Front

col. i

col. ii

]Αυρηλιος Απολλοφανης ο και Σαραπ[αμμων  
 δε μαλιστα κ]αι ην ει (87.5) *α*φιοι αναγκα[ζοιτο (88)  
 πε προφασι]ν ου κομι Σαραπαμμων προσχωρειν κ[αι ο μεν  
 κας τας ναυς·] εφη γαρ *α*ρας ευθυ της φ[ασηλι  
 αυτας ελαττο]υς η οσας *Σαρ* *δ*ος και καυνου[  
 5 βασιλευς ετ]αξε ξυλ [ ]  
 λεγηναι· ο] δε χαριω [ ]  
 αν δηπου ε]ν τουτωι [ ]  
 μειζω ετι ε]χ[ε]ν [ ]

*Marginalia.* We meet the daughter of *Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ καὶ Σαραπάμμων* in P. Turner 41.2-4 (also from Oxyrhynchus, undated), where he is labelled an ex-exegete of Antinoupolis, and U. Hagedorn ad loc. made the identification with the exegete of Antinoupolis ] *Σαραπάμμου*[ν] in P. Lond. III 1164 a 22, of AD 212 (Pistorius, *Indices Antinoopolitani*, Diss. Leiden 1939, no. 569). Now we have a third attestation. But without a title it does not give us a very precise chronological fix for the Thucydides. An Aur. Apollonophanes is an Oxyrhynchite scribe at XIX 2232 19 (AD 316).

Another hand is responsible for *Σαραπαμμων*|*Σαρ*. The end of *Σαραπαμμων* extends over ii 2 *προσχω-* of the Thucydides.

col. i

8 *μειζωι, εσχε E.*

col. ii

1 The first line of the column is written in somewhat larger and bolder letters than the rest. *αφιοι* is evidently a miscopying of *αφιοι*: *σφισι* C E, *σφισω* rell., edd. Cf. 4112 1.

3 AEF write *αιρας*. *ειθός* M. *φασιλιδος*, the spelling of EFM, not excluded.

Back

v.2 ουλομε]νην η μυρ[  
 πολλα<ς> δ ιφθειμους ψυχας αειδι προιαψε[  
 ηρων αυτους τε ελωρια τευχε κυνες<ς>ι[  
 v.5 οιωνοις δε πασι διος τ ετελειετο βουλη[  
 εξ ου δη τα πρωτα διαστητην ερισαν[  
 ατρειδης τε ανα]ξ ανδρων και διο[  
 τις τ αρ εφωε θεων εριδι] ξυνηκε μαχεσθα[  
 ] υιος ο γαρ βασιληι δ[

v. 2 There are a few unassignable traces of the latter part of the line.

Confusion of τε and δε (vv. 4, 5 *bis*) is of course very common, but its concentration here is perhaps indicative of writing from memory. At the beginning of v. 9 *Λητους και Διος* would not fill the space: perhaps *Απολλων* was written at the beginning. After *βασιλη* in v. 9 *χολωθει* is expected, but it does seem to be δ[ not χ[ that is written. Below v. 9 the papyrus is blank for slightly more than the normal amount of interlinear space, so there is a chance that the writer continued no further; if v. 10 were written one might expect to see traces of the rising legs of the kappas of *κακην*.

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4112. THUCYDIDES viii 98

9 1B.173/B(a)

8.3 × 5.1 cm

Second century

The upper part of a column, written in a plain second-century hand verging on cursive. Column width c. 7 cm, height unknown (the fifteen lines occupy 9.5 cm). The upper margin was 5.7 cm or more. The back is blank. No punctuation is in evidence. Orthographica: iota adscript written (10, 11); *σφικι* before vowel (1) but *-κασι* before consonant (12); *και εκεινους* in scriptio plena (13); *δεκελιας* not *-ειας* (3). A necessary phase is omitted in 1.

]δ αυτο σφικι εκ της ομνησ (viii 98.2)  
 ]γενομενην ανδρων  
 ε]κ δεκελιας αναχωρου  
 ]των διαφθορασ οι κ[ο]ριν  
 5 ]θιοι εθελοντηδον προς  
 ]παρακα[λ]εσαντες τους  
 β]οιωτο[υ]ς κ[οι]νολογησα 98.3  
 ]μενος ουν [αυτοις ο] αρι  
 ε]ταρχος απατα[ι τους] εν  
 10 τ]ηι οιοση λεγω[ν ως κ]αι  
 οι] εν τη πολει τ[α αλλα ξυμ  
 βε]βηκασιν λακ[εδαιμο  
 νι]οικ και εκειν[ουσ δει βοι  
 ω]τοις το χωρι[ον παραδου  
 15 ναι] επι του[τοις  
 . . . . .

At the right, where the papyrus breaks off, at just about the point where the next column might be expected to begin, is a horizontal line. It may be a paragraphos beneath that column's first line of text.

1 The paradosis is *επολιόρκουν δ' αὐτὸ διὰ ξυμφορὰν σφίκιν κτλ*. The papyrus lacks *δια ξυμφοραν*. Since the phrase is indispensable and the papyrus has nowhere else to accommodate it (δ is certain as the first letter), it must have dropped out by accident, though I see no mechanical cause for its omission. There is no trace of the omission's having been made good.

*σφικι εκ*. The epsilon is in correction. The scribe may have begun to write a nu for *σφικιν* and then aborted it. CE write *σφισι*.

2 *γενομένην* (*γενε*- EF): *γνομένην* C.

5-6 *προσπαρα*-: *προσ*- c.

8 The space in the papyrus gives little ground for determining whether it had *αὐτοις* or C's *αὐτὸς*.

13 *καὶ ἐκεῖν[ουσ]*. The medieval mss. write *κάκ*-, except that B has *καὶ κάκ*-, in apparent conflation of scriptio plena and crasis. *-νοικ* C, not excluded.

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#### IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

##### 4113. DECLARATION ON OATH

43 5B.66/C(1-3)a

6.5 × 26 cm

17 December 138

For the most part the papyrus is complete apart from a few holes; towards the foot there is some severe damage, but it is unlikely that any writing has been lost except for the remainder of line 33. The principal hand is best described as a semi-cursive scrawl. The variety of forms which some letters present and the clumsy form of others, especially when in ligature, make it a difficult script to read. The date in lines 23-25 is written very fast and is almost illegible, especially in line 25 (see note); it is arguable whether it is written in the same hand as lines 1-22 or whether it has been added in a second hand (for an example of the date added in a different hand cf., e.g., XXXI 2568 24-9). On the back are the remains of three lines of writing, part of an account in drachmas which begins γενημ( ) θ (ἔτους).

The text on the front is a declaration on oath addressed to the strategus in which Horus undertakes to act as surety for Dionysius and to produce him whenever he is required. For a general discussion of such documents see E. Seidl, *Der Eid*, I 8-39, II 4-33, O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, 192-3; cf. F. La Rosa, *JJP* 13 (1961) 67-74. Since Dionysius is referred to as an ἐπίπλοος, it is most probable that our text is to be classified as a sworn declaration of surety for a person appointed to a public office. For a discussion of such declarations see Seidl, *op. cit.*, I 82-4 (for the Roman period) and II 82-5 (for the Byzantine period); Seidl lists the examples known to him at I 79-80, II 72 and 83. Additions are given in BGU XIII, p. 68; add P. Oxy. Hels. 20 ii and (probably) CPR VII 17. P. Oxy. Hels. 20 ii is an extremely close parallel to our text: it is contemporary (for the date see line 1n.), it refers to the same public office, and it is expressed in language which is almost identical (see note to lines 16 ff.). On these declarations see, apart from Seidl, *loc. cit.*, N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*, 69-71, and the introductions to P. Vindob. Sijp. 3 and to P. Oxy. Hels. 20. Unfortunately we cannot be sure that our declaration is of this type, since Dionysius is not simply described as an ἐπίπλοος but as γενόμενον ἐπίπλοον (l.15). For the problem posed by the use of this participle see l.15 n.

Πετρωνίω Διονυσίῳ στρατηγῷ

Ἔσρος Ἔσρου τοῦ Τοτοέω(ς)

μητρὸς Τετσορα . . . ὀς

ἀπὸ κώμης Ψώβθεωσ

5 κάτω. ὀμνύωι  
 Ἀὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα  
 Τίτον Αἰλίον Ἀδριαν[ὸν]  
 Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν  
 Εὐσεβῆ ἑκουσίως ἐν-  
 10 γνάσθαι Διονύσιον  
 Εὐτύχου μητρὸς  
 Τααμούτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύχ(ων)  
 πόλεως καταγεινόμενον(ν)  
 ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ψώβθει  
 15 γενόμενον ἐπίπλο(ον)  
 ὄν καὶ παρέξομαι ἐμ-  
 φανῇ ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν  
 ἐπιζητήται ἐκτὸς  
 παντὸς ἀκύλου τόπου  
 20 κέπησ πάσης ἢ ὑφέ-  
 ξομαι τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ(ῶ)  
 λόγον ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ ὄρκ(ω).  
 (ἔτους) β Ἀὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου  
 Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου  
 25 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβῶς μητρὸς Ἀδριανοῦ κα.  
 (m. 2) [Ἔ]σρος Ἔσρου τοῦ Τοτοέ-  
 [ω]ς ὀμώμεκα τὸν ὄρκ(ον)  
 [καὶ ἐ]γγνώμαι τὸν Διονύ-  
 30 σιον ὡς πρόκειται. Θωνᾶς  
 ὀ καὶ Θεωνᾶς Ὀρ . . . του  
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἶ-  
 δότος γράμ(ματα).  
 gap of 7 cm  
 (m. 3) Ἔρ . . . . [

1 διοῖστρος 2 τοτοε<sup>ω</sup> 5 l. ὀμνύωι; followed by a line filler, similarly l.10 7 τιτον: first  
 4 letters corrected 8 l. Ἀντωνίνον 9-10 l. ἐγγνάσθαι 12 ὀξυρυγ<sup>κ</sup> 13 καταγεινόμεν<sup>ο</sup>,  
 l. καταγιόμενον 15 l. γενόμενον; επιπλο 21 αὐτῶ 22 ορ<sup>κ</sup>, so l.27 23 Lβ 24 l.  
 Ἀντωνίου 28 l. ἐγγνώμαι 29 l. πρόκειται 32 γραμ<sup>μ</sup>

‘To Petronius Dionysius strategus, Horus son of Horus, grandson of Totoeus, my mother being Tetsoraipis (?), from the village of lower Psobthis. I swear by Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, voluntarily to be surety for Dionysius son of Eutyches whose mother is Taamous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi now resident in the said Psobthis, who has been made (?) supercargo, whom I shall also produce present whenever he may be asked for, without any place of asylum or shelter of any form, or I shall take the responsibility on his account, or may I be liable to the oath.

Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, month Hadrianus 21.’

2nd hand. ‘I, Horus son of Horus grandson of Totoeus, have sworn the oath and I guarantee Dionysius as aforesaid. I, Thonas also called Theonas son of Orsentes (?), wrote on his behalf as he does not know letters.’

<sup>1</sup> *Πετρωνίω Διονυσίω*. *Πετρωνίω* is also possible. For this strategus see G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and royal scribes* (1987), 92. His name appears in full only in X 1279 1; here and in P. Oxy. Hels. 20 i 1, ii 1 and iii 1 his second name is unexpectedly abbreviated to *διοῦ*. From 1279 we know that he was in office on 8 November 139. P. Oxy. Hels. 20 is dated 29 December 138 by its editor, but Tybi 13 of year 2 corresponds in fact to 8 January 139 (see *Berichtigungsliste* VII); furthermore Dr Revel Coles, who has examined the original, informs me that he would read the day *κς* rather than *ιγ*, which is the equivalent of 21 January 139. More seriously, there is no justification for the restoration in P. Oxy. Hels. 20 of ‘year 2’ (in the first publication of this text in *Arctos* 12 (1978) 15–17 no year number was restored); ‘year 1’ can be rejected since we know that Apollinarius was still in office as strategus until at least 28 January 138; but we know of no successor to Petronius Dionysius until the year 146/7 (for the evidence see Bastianini-Whitehorne, loc. cit.), so that, while ‘year 2’ may be correct in P. Oxy. Hels. 20, ‘year 3’ or an even later year is also possible.

<sup>2</sup> There is an ink mark before the initial omega which appears to serve no purpose.

<sup>3</sup> *Τετορα . . . ῥος*. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, records two occurrences of the name *Τετοραῖπικς* (BGU IX 1891.327 and P. Col. II 1 recto 2 v 27; both in fact refer to the same person). Probably here we have the same name, reading *Τετοραῖπιδος*; cf. the name *Πετοραῖπικς*, one of the many variants of *Πετοράραπικς* (references in *Onomasticon*).

<sup>4–5</sup> *Ψόβθεως κάτω*. A village Psobthis is found in four different toparchies of the Oxyrhynchite nome; the addition here of *κάτω* indicates that this is the village in the Lower Toparchy: see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, s.v. 3, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> ff. Here as in P. Oxy. Hels. 20 (*ter*) the oath is sworn by the emperor himself, whereas in most declarations of this kind it is sworn by the emperor’s *τύχη*; see the comments in P. Oxy. Hels. 20 i 11–14 n. (but, contrary to what is stated there, in SB XIV 12168 (Oxyrhynchite; AD 130?) and VI 9550 (Oxyrhynchite; AD 175) the oath is sworn by the emperor and not by his *τύχη*).

<sup>9–10</sup> *ἐκουσίως ἐγγυᾶσθαι*. This short formula is to my knowledge employed only in the parallel P. Oxy. Hels. 20 ii 8–9 (where see note) and iii 11; other texts of the same type add the words *καὶ αὐθαιρέτως*.

<sup>12</sup> *Τααμοῦτος*. Not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*; we should perhaps compare *Ψενομοῦς* (listed in *Namenbuch* and *Onomasticon*).

<sup>15</sup> *γενόμενον ἐπίπλο(ον)*. The use of *γενόμενον* (the reading is not in doubt) creates a problem. *γενόμενος* is of course very frequently found in conjunction with the title of a public office, but its normal meaning then is ‘former, having ceased to be, ex-’ (see *Wörterbuch*, s.v. 13, and *LSJ* s.v. II.1.b); i.e. on the face of it our text is a guarantee for a ‘former supercargo’. If so, it cannot be a guarantee of the type referred to in the introduction, that Dionysius will perform the tasks of an *ἐπίπλοος* (in the future). It would have to be understood as a guarantee to produce Dionysius for some other purpose, e.g. for an appearance in court (possibly to answer charges arising from his term as *ἐπίπλοος*; cf. P. Mil. Vogl. IV 237, where two *πράκτορες*

swear to attend the prefect’s court and agree to furnish a surety for this). The wording of our text is very similar to that of PSI XIII 1329 (Oxyrhynchus; AD 212), an oath sworn to the strategus to act as surety for a woman *ἥνπερ παρέξομαι ἐμφανῆ ὁπόταν ἐπιζητηθῆ*.

However, in view of the large number of papyri which have close similarities with the present text and which *are* guarantees that a liturgist will perform his office—above all P. Oxy. Hels. 20 ii which is for the most part identical in wording to the present text (see note to lines 16 ff.)—it would be much more satisfactory if our text could be regarded as a document of this type. In that case *γενόμενος* must have an unusual meaning here (for the words usually used of nomination or appointment to a public office see Lewis, op. cit. 57–64; P. Oxy. Hels. 20 ii 12–14 has *εἰςδ[ο]θέντος* (l. *-θέντα*) *εἰς ἐπιπλω[α]ν[ν] δημο[κ]σί(ου) (πυροῦ)*). *Wörterbuch*, s.v. 10, offers five examples of the word meaning ‘zu einer Leistung bestimmt werden’; not all the texts cited there appear relevant, but two are of some help: (a) P. Amh. II 100, an agreement between Hermes and Cornelius, where lines 3–4 read *ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς μεθωτῆς γενόμενος λήμης . . . προσελάβετο τὸν Κορνῆλιον κοινωνόν* (the editors’ introduction speaks of Hermes ‘having become’ the lessee); and (b) P. Meyer 3, a letter from the strategus to a man informing him that the *ἐγλογιστής* has declared *γεγονέναι ἐπι(τηρητήν) μεθ(ώσεως)* (where Meyer translates ‘geworden bist’). Even more helpful, though not quoted by *Wörterbuch* in this connection, is BGU I 244, an oath to the strategus offering surety for Aurelius Sarapion *γεν[σ]μενον καὶ [α]ὐτὸν ἐγγυητή(ν) of Aurelius Hekusis ἀναδ[εδομέ]νον εἰς βαβδουχίαν*. In view of these parallels we would seem to be justified in taking *γενόμενος* here as meaning ‘who has become (been made)’. A problem, however, remains: it is very difficult to see how we could take *γενόμενος* to refer to nomination to office, rather than to appointment, and we should expect guarantees for performing liturgical offices to be supplied at the time when the person in question is nominated and before appointment. If our text does in fact refer to Dionysius’ nomination or appointment to the office of *ἐπίπλοος*, the time of year at which this took place is of some interest; see line 25 n.

For the office of *ἐπίπλοος* see J. Frösén, *Arctos* 12 (1978) 5–17 (with further bibliography), P. Oxy. Hels. 20 intr. and i 19–20 n.; also A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* (1978), 56, with the notes on pp. 64–7, the tables on pp. 90 ff., and n. 92 on pp. 135–6, D. C. Gofas, *Symposion* 6 (1985 [1989]) 425–444, esp. 430–7, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 95 (1993) 127–9. To the list of documents mentioning *ἐπίπλοοι* given by Frösén in *Arctos* (pp. 12–15) add XLIX 3484 and SB XIV 11398, and note that P. Vindob. Worp 8.36–49 is now republished, with an additional fragment, as P. Charite 13.24–45. Lewis, op. cit. 28, quotes P. Oxy. Hels. 20 as the earliest example of the office as a liturgy (for the correct date of this text see above, line 1 n.); our text is earlier. Meyer-Termeer, op. cit. 40 n. 144, quotes XXXIII 2670 for evidence that the office was a liturgy as early as AD 127, but this document only proves that by this date *ἐπίπλοοι* were civilians.

16 ff. For general comments on the formulas used in these lines see the notes to P. Oxy. Hels. 20 ii 14 ff. The two texts are identical in wording from here to *τῷ ὄρκῳ* in 1.22, except that P. Oxy. Hels. 20 ii may read *ἐπιζητηθῆ* for *ἐπιζητηται* (see the next note), adds the words *ἐκαστον ἀπαρτίζω[ν] ὡς ἐκελεύσθη* after *κτέπης πάσης*, and substitutes *περὶ* for *ὑπέρ* in 1.21.

18 *ἐπιζητηται*. In P. Oxy. Hels. 20 ii 16 the editor reads *[ἐπι]ζητ[ηθ]ῆ*, but comments in his note that *[ἐπι]ζητ[ητ]αι* is also possible. Both forms are amply attested in documents of this type.

18–20 *ἐκτὸς παντὸς ἀκύλου τόπου κτέπης πάσης*. The occurrence of these words at this date is remarkable; they also appear in P. Oxy. Hels. 20 ii 17–18, where see Frösén’s important note.

25 Written with extreme *Verschleifung*; indeed, only the day number at the end can be regarded as wholly certain. Before this we must have a month’s name ending *-νου*, which can only be *Ἀδριανοῦ*; the imperial titles at the start of the line are required by the formula used in lines 7–9. If our text concerns the appointment to office of Dionysius (see above, line 15 n.), it is of interest that it took place towards the middle of the Egyptian year. Lewis pointed out some time ago (*Proc. IX Int. Congress of Papyrology* [pub. 1961], 239–42) that ‘a number of liturgic offices commenced their term somewhere near the middle, rather than at the beginning, of the calendar year’ (p. 242), arguing for nomination in or about Tybi, and Frösén has argued from P. Oxy. Hels. 20 (see intro., p. 55) that the office of *ἐπίπλοος* was one such liturgy. Our text supports his suggestion. I would be inclined to suggest that the person appointed was in charge not for a calendar year but for one trip only from the local granary to Alexandria; he was perhaps discharged after the *παράδοσις* of the cargo.

<sup>29</sup> *Θωνᾶς*. Preferable as a reading to *Θώνικ*, although the latter is much the commoner name.

<sup>30</sup> *Ὀρ . . . του*. XVI 1911 125 records the name *Ὀρσέντου* (genitive), which could just be read here, but cf. LV 3804 81, 212 and nn.

<sup>33</sup> No doubt a note added in the office of the strategus.

## 4114–4116. ORDERS TO ARREST

For the most recent list of papyri which fall into this category see Adam Bülow-Jacobsen in *ZPE* 66 (1986) 95–8. To the 78 examples listed there the following should be added: P. Brooklyn 6, P. Clair. Preis. 6a and 6b (re-edited *ZPE* 84 (1990) 208–10). P. Prag. I 12 and 13, P. Stras. V 309, SB XII 11034, XIV 11264, XVIII 13109, P. Lond. 1074 = *ZPE* 72 (1988) 73, P. Clair. inv. 10539 = *ZPE* 84 (1990) 207, P. Tebt. 535 = *ZPE* 87 (1991) 259, and P. Yale inv. 1347 = *ZPE* 96 (1993) 223. In addition several entries in Bülow-Jacobsen's list have been incorporated in *Sammelbuch*: XII 11106–8 = P. Mich. Michael 4–6, XVIII 13172 = P. Gen. inv. 102, 13854 = P. IFAO I 36 (inv. 323), 13896 = P. Flor. 228 recto, 14014–5 = P. Haun. inv. 33 and 54.

This class of documents has been frequently discussed, most recently by G. M. Browne, P. Mich. X 589–91 introd., U. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 61–74, and H. J. Drexhage, *Migratio et Commutatio. Studien zur Alten Geschichte = Festschrift Th. Pekáry* (ed. Drexhage); St. Katharinen, Scripta Mercaturae Verl. (1989), 102–18. The texts have traditionally been called 'Orders to Arrest', but Hagedorn and Drexhage prefer the more accurate designation 'Überstellungsbefehle'. It is clear from Hagedorn's discussion that the orders from the Oxyrhynchite nome can be divided sharply according to the formula used into those before and those after the middle of the third century (see esp. pp. 73–4).

Of the 37 orders to arrest known from the Oxyrhynchite nome 24, including 4114 and 4115, fall before c. 250. Apart from P. Wisc. I 23 and SB XVIII 13854, which belong right at the beginning of the Roman period, and P. Ryl. IV 681 and SB XVI 12697, which are incomplete at the start, all the Oxyrhynchite examples from this period begin with the word *ἀρχεφόδω* (always in the singular) followed by the name of his village (without *κώμης*). Thereafter nearly all texts follow the pattern *πέμψον τὸν δεῖνα ἐντυχόντος τοῦ δείνου*, with only minor variations (see Hagedorn, 66–9). None of the Oxyrhynchite texts from this period mentions the sender of the order.

There are 13 Oxyrhynchite orders to arrest which are to be dated after the middle of the third century, including 4116. The two which belong in the sixth century (PSI I 47 and SB XVIII 13109) differ radically from the earlier examples and need not be further considered here (for late Byzantine orders to arrest in general see P. Köln VI 281, introd.). Some similarities can be observed in those orders from the Oxyrhynchite which belong between c. 250 and the later fourth century. In all cases where the start is preserved the first line contains the name or title of the official sending the order in the form *π(αρά) + genitive*. Then comes the title of the officials addressed, most often the comarchs, plus *κώμης* and the name of the village. The orders vary from this point on, although most follow one of two patterns (see Hagedorn, 69–70): *ἐξαυτῆς ἀναπέμψατε τὸν δεῖνα ἢ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνέλθατε/ἀνέρχεσθε οἱ ἐξαυτῆς παράδοτε τῷ ἀποσταλέντι ... τὸν δεῖνα ἐντυχόντος τοῦ δείνου*. The order usually ends with an abbreviated form of *σεσημείωμαι*. See further the commentary to 4116.

The change in the form of orders to arrest in the middle of the third century is no doubt to be connected with more general reforms of the administration during the reign of Philip, for which see P. J. Parsons, *JRS* 57 (1967) 134–41, and A. Bianchi, *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 185–98. After c. 250 no Oxyrhynchite order is addressed to the archepodus, who was no doubt superseded as head of the village police, probably at first by comarchs (see 4116 2 n.). It is of greater significance that the office of the sender is now usually recorded. It has always been assumed that the sender did not need to be mentioned in orders prior to c. 250 since such orders always emanated from the office of the strategus. This assumption is no doubt correct. Thus the fact that it was necessary to specify the sender of orders after c. 250—and that the sender is now only very rarely the strategus (see 4116 1 n.)—may be taken as important evidence that from this time on the powers of the strategus were starting to decline.

## 4114

75/35b

7.5 × 5.1 cm

Second century

The papyrus is broken away at the right and it is uncertain how much has been lost. It probably follows exactly the normal pattern for Oxyrhynchite orders prior to c. 250 discussed above, see line 1 n. It is written in a rather crude hand which avoids the use of ligatures. The writing, contrary to the normal practice in orders to arrest, is along the fibres. The back is blank. A remarkable feature is the presence above the first line of the order proper of two lines of writing, which consist for the most part of ovals with a horizontal line through the middle, thus resembling a string of thetas. This cannot be the same as the crosses which are often found at the end of orders to arrest (see 4115 4 and note) and it is hard to see what purpose it can have served. Perhaps it is mere idle doodling on an order which was no longer valid.

ἀρχεφόδω Φοβώου. [  
πέμψον Ταμαῦν [  
...ς ἐντυχόν[τος

To the archepodus of Phoboou. Send Tamaus, daughter of ..., at the petition of ...'

1 ἀρχεφόδω. The usual chief of police in the village until the middle of the third century; on the office see P. Mich. X, p. 51, N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*, 16, and, most recently, Drexhage, op. cit. 108–9.

Φοβώου. A village in the eastern toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 215–6. SB XVI 12706 (= I 172) is also an order to arrest addressed to the archepodus of this village.

It is most probable that the rest of this line was blank. It is more usual for *πέμψον* to follow on the same line, but there are examples where the rest of the line is left blank after the village name, e.g. SB 12706, PSI XV 1538. The alternative is to supply an expression such as *ἐξαυτῆς ἐκ]πέμψον* or *ἀνα]πέμψον*. SB XVIII

13854 (=P. IFAO I 36) might be thought to support this, since it may begin *ἐξαιτῆς ἐ[κπέμ]ψατε*; but this depends partly on a restoration and the text belongs very early in the Roman period. There is no example of an Oxyrhynchite text addressed to the archepodus which begins in this way; all begin, immediately after the name of the village, with *πέμψον*, which strongly suggests that the same was true of the present text.

<sup>2</sup> *Ταμάβν*. An unusual name, otherwise attested only in O. Petr. 313 and P. Cair. Zen. V 59819 (cf. P. Mich. IV 224.1686). On the occurrence of women among the accused in orders to arrest see Drexhage, 114.

## 4115

75/35a

13 × 10.6 cm

First half of third century

The papyrus is complete and is written across the fibres in a good hand with some chancery tendencies, on which see G. Cavallo, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216–49. It can be assigned with confidence to the third century and, since the order conforms to the pattern which is normal for the Oxyrhynchite nome up to c. 250, to the first half of that century. The back is blank. It is noteworthy that it is almost square, whereas most orders to arrest are written on long, narrow strips, cf. P. Mich. X, p. 50.

ἀρχεφόδω Νεμέρων. πέμψον  
Διονύσιον Οὐαλερίου καὶ Τααφύγγιν  
Μιέδτος ἐντυχόντος Ἀτρήτος Παι-  
σίριος. Φᾶῶφι β̄. XXXXXXXXXX

‘To the archepodus of Namera. Send Dionysius, son of Valerius, and Taaphynchis, daughter of Mieus, on the petition of Hatres, son of Pausiris. Phaophi 2.’

<sup>1</sup> For the archepodus see 4114 1 n. On the village of Namera, which was in the middle toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 114–5.

<sup>2</sup> *Τααφύγγιν*. For a woman as one of the accused see 4114 2 n.

<sup>4</sup> The addition of the month and day is unusual and is found in only two other texts from the Oxyrhynchite: XLIII 3130 and PSI XV 1536; cf. XLII 3035, which gives the year as well.

The St Andrew’s crosses are often found in orders to arrest and are supposed to have been added to prevent unauthorised additions to the order; see 3130 4 n. and Drexhage, op. cit. 106.

## 4116

36 4B.99/A (1–5)b

19.8 × 5.3 cm

Late third/early fourth century

The text is written across the fibres on a long, narrow piece of papyrus, which is the most usual shape for orders to arrest. It is almost complete, but the fibres have frayed so badly at the left that some writing has been lost. The back is blank. The format is clearly that of orders written after c. 250, a date which is supported by its being addressed to comarchs (on the reading see line 2 n). Since the order emanates

from the office of the strategus, it cannot be later than the fourth century (the latest attestation of a strategus in the Oxyrhynchite nome occurs in I 66 of 357). The handwriting is suitable for a date in the late third century or early in the fourth. The only unusual feature is the phrase *εἰς τὴν ἄγγιν*, on which see line 3 n.

[π(αρά)] τοῦ στρα[τ]ηγοῦ  
[κωμά]ρχαις κα[ί] δημοσίοις κώμης Νεσμίμεως. ἐξαιτῆς παράδοτε τῷ ἀπο-  
σταλ[έ]ντι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ φρουρῷ Ὁρπαῆσιν ἱερέα εἰς τὴν ἄγγιν  
ἐντυχόν[τ]εσ Πετοσίρεως ἰ[ε]ρεὺς καὶ μοσχοσφραγιστής.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπεμου <sup>4</sup> 1. ἐντυχόντος, ἱερέως; μοσχοσφραγιστής: φ corrected from π and the next three letters also corrected; 1. μοσχοσφραγιστοῦ

‘From the strategus to the comarchs and the demosioi of the village of Nesmimis. At once hand over to the guard sent by me Horpaesis, priest, (to be delivered) to the street, on the petition of Petosiris, priest and sealer of the sacred calves.’

<sup>1</sup> [π(αρά)] τοῦ στρα[τ]ηγοῦ. There would be room for *παρά* in full, but the word is invariably abbreviated in comparable texts and the first line is often indented. The phrase is also found in XXXI 2577, but the only parallel in orders to arrest is P. Turner 46 from the Hermopolite; P. Mich. X 590 (provenance unknown) is also an order to arrest emanating from the strategus. All these texts belong in the period c. 250–350. Other officials sending orders in the Oxyrhynchite nome in this period are the prytanis (XLII 3035, XLIV 3190), the decadarch (I 64), the beneficiarius (I 65), the praepositus (XII 1506), the irenarchs (XII 1507), and the riparius (XIX 2229).

<sup>2</sup> [κωμά]ρχαις κα[ί] δημοσίοις. This address is paralleled exactly in XLIV 3190, from the Oxyrhynchite, and P. Cair. Isid. 129 and 130 from the Arsinoite; cf. P. Bad. II 29. In addition I 64, XII 1507, XLII 3035, I 65 are orders from the Oxyrhynchite nome addressed to comarchs (in the first three cases jointly with the *ἐπιστάται εἰρήνης*), as are P. Giss. bibl. I 15, BGU II 634 and SB XVIII 13896 from the Arsinoite. XXXI 2577 is an instruction from the strategus to the comarchs and the archepodus (not an order to arrest). All these texts belong between c. 250 and c. 350. The only possible alternative in the present text is [εἰρηνά]ρχαις. Irenarchs are found receiving such orders in XII 1505, P. Köln IV 189 and PSI I 47 from the Oxyrhynchite and P. Mich. X 591, P. Amh. II 146 (=M. Chr. 76), P. Lond. III 1074, 1309, P. Stras. V 309, P. Turner 46 and P. Cair. Preis. 6a (re-edited ZPE 84 (1990) 208–9) from other nomes (P. Turner 46 is addressed to a single irenarch jointly with demosioi; cf. P. Abinn. 47.11–12). Most of these texts, however, are from the fifth century or later and it seems unlikely that any is earlier than the middle of the fourth. Note also XII 1507, which is sent by irenarchs to comarchs; these irenarchs are certainly different from the village irenarchs who may well not have existed before c. 340: see XXXI 2568 1–3 n and P. Turner 42, introd. There is thus every likelihood that the comarchs and not the irenarchs were the officials addressed in the present text. If so, it must belong after c. 245 when comarchs were re-introduced into Egypt: see ZPE 19 (1975) 114–9. On the office see H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch*, and P. Köln VI 281, introd.

*Νεσμίμεως*. A village in the upper toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 118.

<sup>2–3</sup> ἐξαιτῆς παράδοτε τῷ ἀποσταλ[έ]ντι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ φρουρῷ. Close parallels for this formula are I 64, 65, XLIV 3190; cf. P. Cair. Isid. 129 from the Arsinoite. For φρουρῷ cf. IX 1193 (from a *speculator*).

<sup>3</sup> ἱερέα. For priests as the accused in orders to arrest see also XXXI 2573, SPP XXII 1, BGU XI 2084. *εἰς τὴν ἄγγιν*. The phrase is without parallel in orders to arrest and it is not clear what it means. Presumably it refers to a particular street in Oxyrhynchus, perhaps the ἄγγια Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης: see XLIX 3482 4 n (add now LV 3777 10), but note that all references to this street belong to the first century BC. It is not uncommon for orders to state that the person arrested is to be delivered *εἰς/ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν/τῆς πόλεως*, e.g. XIX 2229, P. Köln IV 189, P. Mich. X 591, and the phrase in the present text may be intended

to convey the same idea. The letter after *ay* might be read as omicron ligatured at both left and right, and the reading *ἀγοράν* has also been considered. It is, however, less attractive (in particular rho elsewhere has a long tail in this hand) and in any case would be equally unparalleled.

4 *ἰ[ε]ρεύς*. There is room for epsilon between iota and rho but it is odd that no trace of the letter survives. *μοσχοσφραγιστής*. The combination of this title with that of *ιερεύς* is unparalleled, but there are several papyri which refer to a *ιερομοσχοσφραγιστής*. On the office see P. W. Pestman, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues* II, pp. 117–20, with further bibliography on p. 121.

Oxyrhynchite orders from the late third and early fourth centuries frequently end with an abbreviated form of *εσημείωμαι*, see I 64, 65, XII 1505, 1506, 1507, BGU XI 2084; cf. P. Köln IV 189.3 n. It is possible that the same is true of this text, although it is not obvious that the papyrus is incomplete at the foot. *εσημείωμαι* is omitted in XLII 3035 and XLIV 3190.

## 4117. LOAN OF WHEAT/WRITING PRACTICE?

48 5B.25/F(6–7)a

12 × 25 cm

4 January 240

This document is framed as an acknowledgement of an interest-free loan of 13½ artabas of wheat, to be repaid in the month of Epeiph following. It has no subscriptions, as a valid original document would have done. One of the clauses has been added at the foot after the date clause, apparently by the same hand, but in a blacker ink and probably at a different time. In addition the names of the parties are suspiciously similar, see 4–5 n. It must therefore have been at best a draft and it is possible that it was really an exercise in writing contracts in this format.

Some traces of two short lines on the back near the top left corner of the document where it is most damaged suggest that an endorsement stood there, which may count against the sceptical view of the piece.

A[ῥ]ρήλιος Θέων ὁ καὶ Ζωιλίων Διονυσίου  
μητρ[ὸ]ς Σεραπιάδος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύνχων  
πόλεω[ς] Ἀύρη[λ]ίω Θέωνι τῷ καὶ Ζωιλί[ωνι?]  
καὶ ὡ[ς] χρη[ματ]ί[ζ]ι χαίρ[ει]ν. ὁμολογῶ  
5 ἐσχη[κέ]ναι παρὰ σοῦ πυροῦ γενήματος  
τοῦ δ[ι]ε[λ]θόντος β (ἔτους) ἀρτάβας δεκα-  
τρὶς ἡ[μυ]ου, ἅς καὶ ἀποδώσω ς[ο]ι τῷ Ἐπειφ  
μηνὶ ἐ[ν] Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα τὰς ἕσας τοῦ πυροῦ  
ἀρτάβ[ας] δεκατρὶς ἡμυ[ου] μέτρῳ ᾧ παρί-  
10 ληφα χωρὶς διαφόρου. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀ-  
ποδῶ καθὰ γέγραμμε, ἐστείω σοι τὸν  
προκείμενον πυρὸν μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ  
διάφορον τοῦ ὑπερπεπόντος χρόνου,  
γνω[μ]ένης σοι τῆς πράξεως παρὰ

15 τε ἐμ[ο]ῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ[χ]όντων  
μοι π[ά]ντων. κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον  
ἀπλο[ῦν] γραφὴν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ Ἀύρηλιου  
Θέ[ω]νο[ς], περὶ δὲ [το]ῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς  
καὶ καλῶς γίνεσθαι ἐπερωτηθεῖ[ς]  
20 ὁμολόγησα. (vac.)  
(ἔτους) γ. Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
Ἄντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς  
Σεβαστοῦ, Τύβι η.  
μένοντός σοι τοῦ λόγου περὶ ὧν ὀφίλ[ει σο]ι ὁ πα-  
25 τή[ρ] μου.

2 l. *Σαραπιάδος*, Ὀξυρύνχων 4 l. *χρηματίζει*; *χ* in *χαίρ[ει]*ν corrected from *ζ*, see note 6 β L  
7 l. *-τρὶς ἡμυ* 9 l. *παρί-* 11 l. *γέγραμμαι*, *ἐκτείω* 12 l. *προκείμενον* 16 l.  
*χειρόγραφον* 17 *v* in *Ἀύρηλιου* corrected from *ρ* 21 L γ 24 l. *μένοντός σοι*, *ὀφείλει*  
25 τ in *-τή[ρ]* corrected (from *α*?)

'Aurelius Theon alias Zoilion son of Dionysius, mother Serapias, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Aurelius Theon alias Zoili(on?), and however he is described, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you thirteen and a half artabas of wheat of the crop of the past 2nd year, which I shall give back to you in the month of Epeiph in Antipera Pela, an equal amount of thirteen and a half artabas of wheat by the measure by which I received it without interest. But if I do not give it back according to what I have written, I will forfeit to you the aforesaid wheat along with an additional one half and interest on the excess time, you having the right of execution from me and from all my property. The cheirograph of which a single copy has been written by me, Aurelius Theon, is enforceable, and in answer to the question whether this is rightly and fairly done I have given my assent.'

'Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Tybi 8th.'

'You retain the claim to the debt which my father owes you.'

1–2 The borrower's second name, Zoilion, is not in the lexica, and has occurred only in P. Coll. Youtie II 68.5, dated to September 266, where Aurelius Zoilion son of Dionysius, mother Sarapias, from Oxyrhynchus is one of two lessors of a piece of flax-land at Antipera Pela. Since the two names have so many elements in common and the same village is concerned in both transactions, it is possible that the same person is indicated, even though no alias is mentioned in P. Coll. Youtie 68, and even though the interval of time is about 26 years. On double names in the papyri see R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 221–260, and 22 (1942) 3–45; for the occasional omission of one of the two names see pp. 249–252. If they are not the same, the possibility that they belong to the same family is strong.

2 *Σαραπιάδος*. The name is the same as Sarapias. For the frequent interchange of alpha and epsilon see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 278–282; this feature is quite common in Egyptian personal and place names, especially in unaccented syllables and before rho, see *ibid.* 279.

3-4 The lender's name is suspiciously similar to that of the borrower even if ζωιλι is a mistake for Ζωίλω, but it seems likely that it is a mistake of haplography for Ζωιλί(ωνι), i.e. the writer left out two syllables of which the second ended with the same letter as the last one he wrote. If this is so, then the document does not reflect a real transaction in spite of the fact that a specific amount of wheat is mentioned. Rather it is a practice of some kind, probably of the formulas rather than of the script. The writing is practised, but not particularly fast. Note that there is no subscription, as there would be on a valid original.

If, however, there are two real people indicated here, the similarity of the names would suggest that they were related. That they are not brothers is implied by the borrower's use of μου in ὁ πατήρ[ρ] μου (24-5), but they may still be less closely related.

If ζωιλι is a mistake for Ζωίλω, then we may well be justified in identifying him with a man called Aurelius Theon alias Zoilus who is well known from the papyri. The formula καὶ φ[ι]λ[ο]σοφ[ο]ῦ (4) implies the tenure of curial magistracies. An Aurelius Theon alias Zoilus is mentioned as an ex-gymnasiarch as early as c. 218-225 (XLIII 3131 9-11) and in 235 once again with the same title (P. Oslo III 111.128, cf. lines 154, 208, 216, 217, 224, 256, 264, 277): as such he is included in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle Liste des Gymnasiarques* 29 (no. 356). In the former document, a fragmentary official letter addressed to a deputy archidicastes (ἀνταρχιδικαστής) by a strategus, he occurs as plaintiff along with his father Aurelius Theon alias Ammonius, an ex-eutheniarch, ex-agoranomus and ex-councillor of Alexandria. Aurelius Theon alias Zoilus is also mentioned in c. 264/5 in a petition to a prefect, where he calls himself an old man (XLIII 3113 2, 18). His heirs are mentioned in XIV 1701 10, a very fragmentary sale of house property at Oxyrhynchus roughly dated by the editor to the third century, which in view of 3113 is to be dated after c. 264/5. Members of his family are likely to be mentioned in two more documents, XXII 2338 45 (late third century) and IX 1199 9, 16 (third century). In the latter document he is mentioned as former exegetes of Alexandria. Finally a woman called Ἀθρηλία Θεωνίς, the same name as his daughter, appears in P. Oslo III 111.134, but it is uncertain whether she is related to our creditor, cf. 3113 2 n. Judging from the above quoted dates, it is reasonable to assume that in our document of 240 Aurelius Theon alias Zoilus, if it is he who is meant, might have been in his late forties or early fifties.

4 χαίρ[ε]ν. Chi is written over zeta or part of a zeta, probably a mistaken repetition of the previous syllable, caught by the writer.

6 τοῦ δ[ι]ε[κ]θόντος β (ἔτους). The beta, though damaged, is certain. Therefore, although the year figure in the date clause is damaged beyond recovery, it can confidently be printed as γ (21).

7 ἡ[μ]ιν, cf. 9, ἡμ[ι]ν, I. ἡμ[ι]ν. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 199, 215, 237, 238, 240, 243, 253, 270, ii 128-9.

8 Ἀντίπερα Πέλα. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 31-2, cf. above 1-2 n.

10 χωρὶς διαφόρου. On interest-free loans see P. W. Pestman, *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 7-29.

11 γέγραμμε, I. γέγραμμαι. Cf. P. Mich. XI 614.20, XXII 2350 iii 14. It is middle voice, see VII 1040 21 καθὰ ἐγραφήμε[θα]. However, the passive γέγραπται is much more frequent in this formula: P. IFAO I 4.10-11, P. Mert. III 109.3, XXXIV 2722 16, XXXVI 2774 14, PSI XII 1253.13, P. Strasb. VIII 764.33, P. Yale I 64.19-20, SB X 10246.11-12.

ἔπεισω, I. ἐκτείσω. Sigma seems the best reading, to judge from the rounded foot and the flat cap. It may be a blunder as inexplicable as μένοςτος (24), or it may be a misreading of a gamma written for kappa, although this interchange is not usual before an unvoiced consonant, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 174 n. 1; cf., however, 76-7.

13 διάφορον τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου. The rate of the interest on excess time is not specified. This may be because the document is a draft if not a mere practice. The normal rate was 50% per annum, see N. Lewis, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 128 and n. 12.

16-18 This formulation is not exactly paralleled. Nearest is P. Vindob. Tandem 32 i 9 ff. [τὸ χειρ]ό[γρα-φον] τοῦτο [δ]ιὰ τὸν γραφὴν ὑπ' ἐμ[οῦ] τοῦ [Ἀμμωνί]ο[υ] κ[α]τ' ἄρ[ιστον] κτλ.

21 (ἔτους) γ. Cf. 6 n. Year 3 of Gordian III is 239/240, see e.g. D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 110-111.

23 Τύβι η. The Egyptian year 239/240 began on 30 August instead of 29 August, the previous year being a leap year with six epagomenal days instead of five. Consequently Tybi 8 was equivalent to 4 January rather than 3 January, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 98.

24 μένοςτος. There is a hole which affects the tops of sigma and tau, but sigma seems unavoidable and nu in this place impossible. This may be an error of anticipation of the following sigmas.

24-5 The darker ink and the thicker strokes of the letters suggest that this additional provision is an afterthought, but it is unlikely that this is a different hand.

Such clauses are normally expected either in the body of the document, before or after the κυρία-clause, e.g. PSI XII 1250.14 ff., P. Fay. 90.20 ff., P. München III 101. 17 ff., or less frequently incorporated in the subscription, e.g. P. Flor. III 370.21-2, PSI XII 1249.59-60, P. Vindob. Tandem 23 i 19 ff.

The clause refers to a previous loan which was not made by the debtor himself, but by his father and it is difficult to establish how this functions within the present document. Compare perhaps XLII 3051 8-11 μένοντός [μοι τοῦ λ]όγου τῶν δφειλομένων τῷ πατρί μου Κλαυδίω [. . . . .] ὑπ[ὸ] τ[οῦ] π[ρ]ογεγ[ρ]αμμένου πατρός σου. The general point seems to be that sons will inherit responsibility for debts incurred by fathers along with the estate.

T. GAGOS

#### 4118. MEMORANDUM TO COMARCHS

100/196(a)

9 × 13 cm

Third century

The papyrus is complete in its outer dimensions but riddled with holes. As these are mostly small, the text of the document can be made out almost completely. The back is blank. The writing, across the fibres, resembles that of W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie* Abb. 50, a text from the mid-third century Heroninus archive. The papyrus dates from after the reintroduction of the comarchs which took place about 245, during the reforms of the emperor Philip, see J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 111-119.

The document, concerning liturgic appointments, is a memorandum to the comarchs of Dositheu (in the Lower toparchy) from a man called Pecyllus, whose rank is neither stated nor readily deducible. The name is rare and found only in papyri from Oxyrhynchus, but it is not possible to identify this individual for certain, see 1 n.

The comarchs are ordered to return missing liturgists, and in particular to hand over one of them to the comarch of Psobthis, presumably the village of the Lower toparchy and not one of the other three Oxyrhynchite villages of the same name, see 8 n. They are accused of some action relating to many missing liturgists and Pecyllus says that he has put off approaching the epistrategus about it not for their sake but for the sake of the village. If the damaged verb is rightly read and restored as κ]λέπτονται, it seems that they have given refuge to fugitive liturgists, see 3 n.

π(αρά) Πεκύλλου

κωμάρχαις Δωσιθέου.

πολλοὶ λειτουργοὶ ζητού-

μεν[ο]ι [κ]λέπτονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν

5 καὶ εἰς τειμῆν τῆς κώμης

ἔτι ἀνέχομαι. φροντίσατε οὐδ(ν)

καὶ τὸν ζητούμενον παρα-

δοῦναι τῷ τῆς Ψώβθεωσ  
 κωμάρχῃ, μὴ ὑμεῖς τὴν λει-  
 10 τουργίαν ὑποστητ[αι] εἴ. ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φροντίσατε  
 παραδοῦναι. ὡς γὰρ προεί-  
 πον, τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ οὐ προσ-  
 ἦλθον εἰς τεμῆν τῆς κώ-  
 15 μης, οὐχ ὑμῶν.

(m. 2) [[*ζεση(μειώμαι)*]]

(m. 3) *εση(μειωκάμην)*.

1 π' 5, 14 1. τιμήν 6 οὔ 9 ὑμεῖς 10 ὑποστητ[αι] εἴ 15 ουχ' 16 ζεση 17 εση

'From Pecyllus to the comarchs of Dositheu. Many liturgists who are wanted men are being spirited away by you and for the honour of the village I still take no action. So see to it that you deliver the wanted man to the comarch of Psobthis, lest you (be required to) undertake the liturgy yourselves. Moreover, see to it that you deliver the others; for, as I said before, I did not approach the epistrategus for the honour of the village, not for yours.'

(2nd hand; deleted). 'I have signed.'

(3rd hand), 'I signed.'

1 The name Pecyllus appears only in papyri from Oxyrhynchus. The earliest reference seems to be the bare name in P. Giss. I 31 ii 15; the recto of this account dates from the reign of Pius, year 3 or later, AD 140–161, and the account itself is assigned to the end of the second century.

The best known individual is Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon, ex-gymnasiarch by 222/3 (XII 1526 9), prytanis in 230/1 (LI 3606 20–21) and again in 234/5 (P. Oslo III 111.1, 61, 119), see 3606 introd. He also appears in a document of 246 as one of the guardians of a rich heiress (XLII 3048 13). It is an obvious though unverifiable possibility that our Pecyllus is the same as this one.

The bare name appears as that of the sender of three short orders which are assigned to 256 (PSI I 35.1), 263 (VII 1054 1), and 267 (1055 1). The argument for the dating appears in the introduction to 1055, which is dated (ἔτους) ἰδ' Παῦρι ιζ. It is written on the back of a document dated to an '18th year, probably of Septimius Severus. 1054 and 1055 therefore apparently belong to the reign of Gallienus'. But the reign of Severus Alexander also reached a fourteenth year, so that 17 Payni, 14 Severus Alexander = 11 June 235 is a possible date for 1055 and also more attractive as being thirty years nearer to the date of the recto. The reign of Severus Alexander is last attested in Egypt on 3 May 235, while the reign of Maximinus is first attested on 23 August, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 108. 1054 of year 10 of Severus Alexander, Payni 24, would be of 18 June 231, and PSI 35 of year 3, Phamenoth 29, would probably belong to the reign of Maximinus and so date to 25 March 237, although it might be of Severus Alexander's reign and so be of 25 March 224. These revised dates would make it possible for the Pecyllus in them to be the same as Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon.

A Pecyllus son of Dionysius has a mention in P. Princ. II 64.7, assigned only to the third century. He could also be the same, but there is no strong argument for identity.

An Aurelius Pecyllus son of Stephanus appears in a document of 319, LIV 3751 8, 19. A Pecyllus datable only to the early fourth century appears in LV 3792 17, 21 and could be the same as the son of Stephanus.

It would be possible, therefore, that all the references relate to only three persons, one in each of the

second, third and fourth centuries, although that conclusion is by no means necessary. The rarity of the name does perhaps suggest that all the bearers of it might belong to one family.

2 κωμάρχαις. See introd. for the importance of this office as providing an approximate *terminus post quem* for the date. On the functions of the post see H. Missler, *Der Komarch*, and on its liturgical aspects N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* 36–7.

Δωσιθέου. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 43.

4 κλέπτονται. In spite of the damage this seems to be a convincing reading. If it is right, κλέπτω must mean 'spirit away', see LSJ s.v. I 1. This would imply that the comarchs were offering illegal protection to persons liable to public service. This sort of activity is well known and often described as κλέπη, 'protection', see for recent bibliography J. Modrzejewski, *APF* 33 (1987) 109; but the reading κλέπονται, cf. P. Coll. Youtie I 30.20 κεπομένους (with *ZPE* 27 (1977) 152), has been considered here and rejected. A damaged passage possibly relevant to this context appears in the edict of the governor Avidius Heliodorus in PSI XIV 1406.7–10, τὸ ἀ[δ]ί[κ]ημα οὐκ ἐ[ν] τῷ δίδοναι τιὰς εἰς χρεῖας ἐστ[ί]ν, ἀλλ' [ἐν] τῷ [τ]οῦς μὲν ἐ[κ]κλέπτειν καὶ . . . [ . . . ] ἀλλ[ε]ῖς >ιτουργήτ[ου]ς [π]οιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ βαρύνειν π[ο]λαὶς χρεῖαις, '... the injustice lies, not in nominating certain persons to the services, but in spiriting some away and ... keeping them exempt from liturgies, and burdening others with many services'. The correction ἐκλείπειν offered in BL IV 92 seems to be meaningless, and has been rejected by G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 288 n. 2, see BL VII 242. (Notes that I took in 1970 when I saw PSI 1406 suggest that the reading is right as it stands and that there would hardly be room to restore the missing kappa in the undoubted lacuna and so read ἐ[κ]κλέπτειν. J. R. Rea.)

5–6 Although no parallel has been found, εἰς τεμῆν (= τιμήν), cf. 14, seems to mean 'for the honour of, for the sake of'. The possibility of Latin influence may be worth considering. CGL gives as Latin synonyms of τιμή (cf. Index) *honor*, *praemium*, *pretium*. OLD defines *honor* as 'high esteem or respect ... a particular mark of esteem, an honour'. Notable in the definitions of *praemium* and *pretium* is the idea of recompense or reward for merit.

The meaning of ἔτι ἀνέχομαι is amplified in 12–15, where Pecyllus says, 'For, as I said before, I did not approach the epistrategus for the honour of the village, not for yours'. In other words, his duty was to denounce the comarchs to the epistrategus for abuse of their powers, but he refrained for the sake of the village. For the various roles of the epistrategus in the liturgical system see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* 69–93, N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services*, 83, 86–88.

16 The first countersignature is cancelled by a horizontal stroke, which might have been drawn by the writer of the second. One would naturally assume that a clerk would have written the main text and the countersignature would have been appended by Pecyllus himself. It is impossible to guess why another person should have intervened.

N. LEWIS

#### 4119. NOTICE TO COMARCHS

70/58(b)

10 × 15.5 cm

c. 270

The two surviving fragments of this document probably adjoin each other at lines 13–14 with no loss of text in between. The recto of the papyrus was used for a land register. When that was no longer needed the papyrus was cut down to its present width and its back used for writing 4119, which is now incomplete at the bottom. The writing is a smooth upright cursive, a rather less elegant example of the style illustrated by L. 3568 (Plate XV).

The text is an order from the hypomnematographus Calpurnius Horion to the comarchs of a number of villages, the names of which were listed in the now lost bottom of the document. The subject of the order is the collection from the villages of food-stuffs—in this instance pork—for the soldiery. Sarapion, the man sent to perform the

liturgic service of conducting or supervising the operation, is characterized as currently holding the office of gymnasiarch in Oxyrhynchus. In the third century a gymnasiarch typically served for only a few days or at most months of the year, and Sarapion no doubt discharged the liturgy of **4119** at a time when he was not active in the gymnasiarchy. Even so, **4119** provides us with a further instance of a man discharging two compulsory services of the bouletic class in the same year. On these matters see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 20, 97–8.

It may be significant that Sarapion was given this ad hoc assignment during the thirty-year interval when, presumably as a measure of liturgic relief, no eutheniarchs were appointed at Oxyrhynchus, cf. *BASP* 7 (1970) 113–14. In the same period there is evidence that the transport (as distinct from the collection in the villages, as here?) of provisions for the soldiery was the responsibility of annually appointed epimeletae, see XII **1412**, reading now *εἰς ἐπιμελητῶν δ[υ]ομασίαν* in lines 11–12 (BL III 136).

π(αρά) Καλπουρνίου Ὁρίωνος τοῦ  
 κρατίστου ὑπομηματογράφου.  
 ἀπεστάλη Σαραπίων γυμνασίαρχος  
 συναγαγεῖν παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν καταπεμ-  
 5 πομένην ἀγορὰν τοῖς γενναιοτάτοις  
 στρατιώταις κατὰ κέλευσιν' τοῦ κυρίου μου ἡγεμόνος  
 ἐν χοίροις ὅσοις ἐὰν παράσχητε κα-  
 τὰ τὴν τεταγμένην ἐκάστη κώ-  
 μη ποσότητα. ταῦτα ξξαυτῆς συνα-  
 10 γαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων ἀνα-  
 γάγετε μετὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν λιτρι-  
 σθησόμενα σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ ὑπ' ἐ-  
 μοῦ λημφόμενοι τὴν τιμὴν ἐπὶ  
 συντιμή[ς]εως, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐὰν βραδυ-  
 15 τῆς τις π[ε]ρὶ τοῦτο γένηται ὡς ἐνε-  
 δρεῦσαντες τὴν στρατιωτικὴν  
 ἀγορὰν πεμφθήσεσθε ἐπὶ τὸ μέγε-  
 θος αὐτοῦ κολασθησόμενοι. (vac.)  
 κωμάρχαις καὶ δημοσίοις τῶν  
 20 ὑπογεγ[ραμμένων] κωμῶν.

'From Calpurnius Horion, *uir egregius*, hypomnematographus.

'Sarapion, gymnasiarch, has been sent out to collect amongst you, in accordance with an order of my lord prefect (of Egypt), toward the provisions being sent down for the most noble soldiers, in hogs as many as you furnish according to the quantity assigned to each village. Collect these at once from those who have them and bring them up together with their owners to have their weight in pounds fairly measured by me and you(?) will receive the price at valuation(?), knowing that, if any delay in this matter occurs, you will be sent before his Highness to be punished for obstructing the military supply.

'To the comarchs and officials of the villages listed below ...'

<sup>1</sup> Calpurnius Horion is known from several previously published documents, all but one or two of them in the corn dole archive of XL. In a fragment of what is in all probability the earliest of those documents, XL **2938**, he is styled Roman *equus*, neocorus of Sarapis, ex-exegetes and bouletes of Alexandria. As there is no mention there of the offices attested in the other documents, the editor (J. Rea) offers the reasonable suggestion that **2938** dates from early in Calpurnius Horion's career, perhaps as early as AD 256–261. In the earliest securely dated document in which he appears, XXXI **2568** of 264, his title is ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος εἰρηνάρχης, an office, as the editor (P. Parsons) observes, doubtless of nome-wide authority, cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 23–4. In AD 270–271 or 272, when he was in charge of the corn dole at Oxyrhynchus, he had advanced to the rank of ὁ κράτιστος ὑπομηματογράφος (XL **2898**, **2903**, **2908**); the other five sources are undated.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπεστάλη: no doubt by the boule of Oxyrhynchus. On that body's responsibility for appointing liturgists and supervising their performance in office, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 27–30, 107–113.

<sup>3–4</sup> καταπεπομένην. The prefix κατα- is no doubt to be taken literally as indicating that the provisions are to go to a military unit or units stationed downriver from Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>9</sup> ταῦτα refers back to χοῖροις (7). The writer may have had χοῖρον rather than χοῖρος in mind.

<sup>10–11</sup> ἀναγάγετε. The prefix ἀνα- here refers to movement from the villages to the district capital, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* i 493 (= *HTR* 41 (1948) 15) n. 36.

<sup>μετὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν.</sup> The implication is that the owners had to drive their pigs from the villages to market in the metropolis as part of the bargain. Although these pigs were probably destined for the *annona militaris*, see next note, it is worth comparing the arrangements for the supply of pork to Rome in the Byzantine period, when the pigs were driven from as far away as Bruttium and Lucania, losing up to a quarter of their weight on the way, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 702–4.

<sup>11–12</sup> λιτρισθησόμενα. The damage means that this is not a perfectly certain reading. The verb λιτριζω occurs only in XII **1543** 1, where it refers to the weighing of requisitioned chaff to be distributed to soldiers passing through, πρὸς διάδοσιν τοῖς διοδεύουσιν γενναιοτάτοις (=γενναιο-) στρατιώταις (2–3). λιτριμός is more common; it refers to requisitioned meat in P. Cair. Isid. 22.1 and specifically to pigs or pork in P. Cair. Isid. 23.2.

<sup>12</sup> σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ. LSJ records μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου used as the equivalent of δικαίως by Attic orators, and this seems to be the meaning here.

<sup>13</sup> λημφόμενοι τὴν τιμὴν. Unless there is something wrong with the drafting, the village officials, see 19–20, are the ones who receive the payment. How the actual suppliers were paid remains uncertain. If we may take λημφόμενοι as miswritten for λημφομένων, that would give the payment direct to the owners bringing in the pigs.

<sup>13–14</sup> ἐπὶ [συντιμή]εως. Cf. X **1273** 29, but that refers to the valuation of a dowry and is not a common phrase, so that the restoration is not certain. However, 'at valuation', i.e. according to the measured weight, seems a likely meaning.

<sup>14–15</sup> Cf. P. Panop. Beatty 2.74 καὶ χορὴ εἴ τις γέγονεν βραδυτῆς ἢ ἀμέλεια περὶ τὸ πρ[ο]σ[τα]χ[θέν], ἐπέξελευσ[εν] τὴν προσήκουσαν προσερχθῆναι κατὰ τοῦ ἀμελήσαντος.



## 4120. APPLICATION FOR THE REGISTRATION OF A LIEN

37 4B.109/H(1-2)a

10 × 27.5 cm

1 January 287

The papyrus contains a petition from Aurelius Apollonius, a freedman, to the property registrars of Oxyrhynchus. Although the purpose of the application is not explicitly stated, for the text simply reads *ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα* in the part where the request clause is expected (26-7, see note), it is clear from the docket *παρετέθη* in the top margin and the text as a whole that the applicant is requesting that the aforesaid officials make a provisional registration of a part of a house encumbered through a loan concluded eight months before the present application was submitted.

Aurelius Asclepiades borrowed money from Aurelius Apollonius on the surety of the third share of a house which had descended to him by inheritance from his late father, Didymus. Apollonius, in order to ensure his claim in case of default by the debtor, took the following steps with the approval of the debtor: (i) first he applied to the appropriate authorities that the private transaction (*χειρόγραφον*) be approximated to a public document through the process of *δημοσίωσις* (21-3), and (ii) he addressed the present application to the property registrars so as to bar a possible alienation of the mortgaged property.

The loan was recorded in a private contract, cheirograph, which had been drawn up in the month of Pachon, 26 April-25 May, 286. The exact term for the repayment of the loan is not stated but it had already passed (*διεληλυθυῖν ... προθεσμίαν*, 19-20) when the present application was submitted, that is, before Tybi 6, 1 January, 287. Also unknown is whether the *δημοσίωσις* of the cheirograph, which took place in Choeac, 27 November-26 December, 286, was effected within the term fixed for repayment. As the dates show, the time-lapse between the *δημοσίωσις* and application for *παράθεσις* is 35 days or less.

The sequence can be tabulated as follows:

- (i) 26 April-25 May 286: the loan is drawn up in the form of a cheirograph (6-7).
- (ii) 27 November-26 December 286: the *δημοσίωσις* of the cheirograph takes place (23).
- (iii) Unknown date before 1 January 287: the debtor finds himself in arrears (19-20).
- (iv) 1 January 287: application for *παράθεσις* (34-8).

The debtor had not declared the property at stake to the registrars (28), but it was still under the name of the previous owner, his father Didymus (13-16, 29-32).

It is worth noting that the present document is the only Oxyrhynchite application for *παράθεσις* of mortgaged property known to me, and is thus without a very close parallel. It presents, however, many similarities with P. Harr. I 75 (III, cf. BL V p. 41) and SB VIII 9878 (259; from E. Kiessling, *JJP* 15 (1965) 73-4).

The latest account of *παράθεσις* is by H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* 235-245.

(vac.) (m. 5?) παρετέθη. (vac.)

Α]ῦρηλίους Ἀσκληπιάδην γενομένῳ ὑπομνηματογράφῳ (ἀφῶ)  
 κ]αὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζει) καὶ τῷ σὺν αὐτῷ, βιβλιοφύλαξι,  
 παρὰ Αῦρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπελευθέρου  
 5 Ἀ]γρωνίου καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζει). κατὰ χειρόγραφον  
 δ]ις δὲ γέγονος τῷ διελθόντι βς καὶ ας ἔτι  
 μ]ηνὶ Παχῶν ὡμολόγησεν Αῦρηλίος Ἀσκλη-  
 πι]άδης Διδύμου μη(τρὸς) Βερενίκης ἀπὸ τῆς  
 λαμ](πρὰς) κα[ῖ] λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχεϊτῶν πόλεως ἐσχηκέ-  
 10 ναι] παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐν χρήσι διὰ χειρὸς ἀργυρίων  
 Σεβαστ]ῶν νομίματος τάλαντον ἐν  
 κα]ὶ δραχμὰς {χ}δισχειλίας δι{ο}κοσίας κεφαλῆου  
 ἐ]πὶ ὑποθήκῃ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῷ καὶ κα-  
 15 τ]ηντ]ηκότος εἰς αὐτὸν κληρονομικῶν δικαί-  
 ω] πρότερον τοῦ δηλουμένου αὐτοῦ πατρὸς  
 Διδύμ]ου τρίτου μέρους οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ  
 τῶν] ταύτης χρηστηρίων πάντων χω-  
 ρ]ικς συμ]ποσίω, οὔσης ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Κρητι-  
 20 κοῦ, εἰς] ἐκσταθείσαν καὶ διεληλυθυῖν  
 τῆς ἀποδ]όσεως προθεσμίαν ὡς τὸ  
 χειρόγραφον περιέχε]ι, οὗ δημοσιωθέν-  
 25 τος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μετ' εὐδοκῆ]σεως τοῦ ὑποχρέ-  
 ου τῷ ἐνεστῶτι γ καὶ β (ἔτει) μηνὶ Χο]ιάκ τὸν  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ διαλογῆς ἀναπεμ]φθέν-  
 30 τα χρηματισμὸν ἐπιφέρων ὑμῶν σὺν  
 εἰ]κοσι ἀντιγράφοις ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνη-  
 μα καὶ δηλῶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπόχρεόν μου  
 μὴ ἀπογεγράφθαι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῶν  
 προκειμένων οἰκοπέδων, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῦ  
 35 τοῦτο καθότι πρόκειται κληρονομικῶν δικαί-  
 ω] πρότερον τοῦ δηλουμένου αὐτοῦ πατρὸς  
 Αῦρηλίου Διδύμου ὡς καθήκει, καὶ ὁμνύω  
 τὸν ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίους ὄρκον μὴ ἐψεῦ<ς>θαι.  
 (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαῖου Αῦρηλίου Οὐαλερί(ου)

- 35 Διοκλητιανού Γερμανικού Μεγίστου καὶ ἔτους βς  
 Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Οὐαλερί(ου)  
 Μαξιμιανού Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν  
 Τῦβι 5<sup>-</sup>. (m. 2) Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος  
 ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὄμοσα τὸν ὄνκον  
 40 ὡς πρόκειται. Ἀυρήλιος Καραπίω(ν)  
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος  
 γράμματα.  
 (m. 3) Ἀυρήλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης βιβλιοφύλ(αξ) σεσημ(είωμαι).

Back, downwards along the fibres near the middle:

(m. 4) { . } ὑποθήκη Καραπί[ωνος] χαλκῆως.

1 παρε <sup>-</sup>	2 υπομνηματογ <sup>ρ</sup>	3, 5 χρη <sup>μ</sup>	6 l. ἔτει	8. μῆ <sup>τ</sup>	9 λαμ]ζκα[ε]λαμζ;
l. Ὁξυρρυχιτῶν	10 l. χρήσει, ἀργυρίου	12 l. διςχιλίας, κεφαλαίου	18 l. συμποσίω	19 l.	
διεληλυθῦσαν	26 l. ἴσοις	31 l. δηλουμένου	34 L γ, γαίου, ουαλερι <sup>-</sup> , so also 36	39 l.	
ὄρκον	40. l. πρόκειται; καραπιω <sup>-</sup>	41 ὑπερ	43 βιβλιοφυλ' σεσημ <sup>ι</sup>		

(5th hand?) 'Entered on the register'.

(1st hand) 'To Aurelii Asclepiades ex-hypomnematographus, and however else he is described, and his colleague, property registrars, from Aurelius Apollonius, freedman of Antonius, and however else he is described. According to a cheirograph in two copies drawn up in the past 2nd and 1st year in the month of Pachon, Aurelius Asclepiades son of Didymus, mother Berenice, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchites acknowledged that he had received from me from hand to hand as a loan one talent and two thousand two hundred drachmas of money in coinage of the Augusti as capital, on the mortgage of the third part of a house and courtyard and all its appurtenances excluding(?) the dining-room, which belongs to him and which has descended to him by right of inheritance, having been formerly the property of his said father Didymus, sited in the Cretan quarter, with a term of repayment which has arrived and passed, as is contained in the cheirograph, which has been publicly registered by me with the approval of the debtor in the present 3rd and 2nd year in the month of Choeac, whereof I forward you the official notice of the deed furnished to us by the Bureau of Examination along with identical copies; and I submit the application and declare that my aforementioned debtor has not registered the third part of the aforesaid buildings and that this belongs to him, as aforesaid, by right of inheritance, being formerly the property of his said father Aurelius Didymus, as is appropriate; and I swear the oath customary among the Romans that I have not made a false declaration. Year 3 of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Germanicus Maximus and year 2 of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, Pii Felices Augusti, Tybi 6.'

- (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Apollonius, have submitted it and sworn the oath as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Sarapion, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.'  
 (3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Asclepiades, property registrar, have signed.'

Back.

(4th hand) 'Mortgage of Sarapion coppersmith(?)'

<sup>1</sup> παρε(τέθη). On this type of παράθεσις, a modification in the property registers relating to the right of a mortgagor over some piece of property, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* 235–8.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀσκληπιάδῃ γενομένῳ ὑπομνηματογράφῳ. For what is known of the office of hypomnematographus see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Aegyptus* 67 (1987) 101–125. Numbers 39, 42, and 47 in Whitehorne's list, pp. 119–120, refer to Oxyrhynchite men of the same name with this title close to 290. It could be that these all refer to the same man, although one is described as the son of an Achillion, another as also called Achillion, and a third appears without any alias or patronymic, as here.

<sup>6–7</sup> The date can be converted to 26 April–25 May 286. Year 2 Diocletian, 1 Maximian is 285/6, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 3. Pachon is equivalent to 26 April–25 May, see Bagnall, Worp, *Chronological Systems* 100.

<sup>7–8</sup> An Asclepiades son of Didymus and Berenice occurs in XL 2935 ii 21. This belongs to the corn dole archive from Oxyrhynchus and probably, therefore, dates from about 270. It is quite possible that the debtor here is the same man.

<sup>12</sup> {χ}δισχειλιάς (l. διςχιλιάς) δι{σ}ακοσίαις. There may have been an attempt to rub out the two mistakes. The first looks as if the writer thought first of χιλιάς; the second is more puzzling, since the putative omicron is rather black, but surrounded by fainter traces and rather distant from the following alpha.

<sup>17–18</sup> χω[ρ]ις συμποσίω (l. -ου). This presumably means, not that the house lacked a dining-room, but that the dining-room was excluded from the third share inherited by Asclepiades. There seems to be no room to restore τοῦ.

<sup>18–19</sup> For the Cretan Quarter see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* 80, 84 §13.

<sup>19–20</sup> εἰς] ἐνσταθείσαν καὶ διεληλυθῦσαν [τῆς ἀποδ]όσεως προθεσμῶν. I have not found an exact parallel to this expression, for, as far as I know, the two participles never occur in such a juxtaposition. In separate examples both verbs, especially the former, occur, see e.g. I 37 11 (49) ἐνέστη ἢ προθεσμία, II 270 28 (94) ἐὰν δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας ἐνστάσης μὴ ἀποδῶ κτλ., P. Flor. I 1.6 (153) ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδοῖ τῆς προθεσμίας ἐνστάσης κτλ. For the latter see III 485 27 (178) τῆς δε προθεσμίας διελοῦσης καὶ τῆς ἀποδόσεως μοι μὴ γενομένης κτλ.

For εἰς as the preposition see e.g. L 3560 11–12 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φαῶφι εἰς προθεσμῶν τριακάδα Φαμενώθ κτλ. διεληλυθῦσαν. Although the genitive ending in -ύης and the dative in -ύῃ are fairly common, on this occasion the accusative in -ύῃν has been found elsewhere only in P. Mich. V 353.7–8 τὴν προγεγονούην ... παραχώρησαν.

<sup>20–21</sup> ὡς τὸ [χειρόγραφον περιέχε]ι. The wording is similar in all documents of this class from Oxyrhynchus, e.g. P. Harr. I 75.20–21, SB VIII 9878.20–21, both with ὡς ἢ συγχώρησις περιέχει, IX 1199 18–19 ὡς ἢ <ι>διόγραφος πρᾶσις περιέχει.

<sup>22–6</sup> Cf. P. Harr. I 75.21–4 ἥς τὸν ἀναπεμφθέντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ διαλογῆς χρηματισμ[ὸν] ἐπιδίδωμι ὑμῶν ἐν ἴσοις ἀντιγράφοις, and especially P. Coll. Youtie I 65 (=XLVII 3365). 78–9 ἥς δημοσιωθεῖσιν μετ' εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ... τῷ διελθόντι γ (ἔτει) μηνὶ Παχῶν τὸν ἀναπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ (sic: l. ἀπὸ) διαλογῆς χρηματισμῶν ... <ἐπιδίδωμι>; also SB VIII 9878.21–4, XXVII 2473 23 ff., IX 1199 19 ff.

All the above documents record either explicit or implicit reference to a preceding δημοσίωσις and mention the resultant χρηματισμὸς submitted to the property registrars. A similar expression was perhaps included also in X 1268 13–14, with a very damaged text, where I would restore something like ἥς τὸν πρὸς ἐμ[ᾶς] (cf. below 24 n.) ἀπὸ διαλογῆς ἀναπεμφθέντα [χρηματισμῶν ἐπιφέρω ὑμῶν ἐν] ἴ[σο]ις ἀντιγράφοις.

For ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, which is a stop-gap, in 22, cf. XIV 1636 36–7 τῆ ἔσομένη ὑπὸ σοῦ δημοσιώσει.

<sup>23</sup> [τῷ ἐνεστῶτι γ καὶ β (ἔτει) μηνὶ Χο]ίαις. Since the loan contract was dated April/May 286, with reference to year 2 Diocletian, 1 Maximian, see 6–7 n., and this document is dated 1 January 287 by reference to year 3 Diocletian, 2 Maximian, the Choeac in question must be 27 November–26 December (see Bagnall, Worp, *Chronological Systems* 97) 286, which also fell in 3 Diocletian, 2 Maximian (see Bagnall, Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 100).

24 πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Cf. P. Harr. I 75.22. P. Coll. Youtie 65 (=XLVII 3365)<sup>5</sup> has πρὸς ὑμᾶς, which is doubted by the editor, although it might seem to be confirmed by XXVII 2473 28 τὸν ἀναπεμφθέντα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἐγκτήσεων βιβλιοφύλακας χρηματισμὸν. The choice between ἡμᾶς and ὑμᾶς is doubtful. The plural ἡμᾶς would presumably refer to the contracting parties, who would take the initiative in writing to the officials to apply for δημοσίωσις. A rather dim photograph of X 1268 14 favours ὑμᾶς there too.

25-6 εἰς εἰς (l. ἵσως) ἀντιγράφοις. This expression is found in almost all the parallel texts, but it is rather obscure and has not been discussed in the literature. In P. Coll. Youtie I 65 (=XLVII 3365) it is very clear from the word μοναχό(ν) that the applicant submits the χρηματισμὸς alone, see 80-82 τὸν ἀναπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ (l. ἀπὸ) διαλογῆς χρηματισμὸν διηποκολλήσας μοναχό(ν). The copies here are probably of documents connected with the process of δημοσίωσις, see R. H. Pierce, *Symbolae Osloenses* 43 (1968) 78, 'the applicant, upon payment of a fee, obtained from the Catalogue [καταλογεῖον; in our case διαλογή or 'Bureau of Examination'] a copy of the covering letter, the application (sc. for δημοσίωσις) and the docket authorizing publication and sent them, on his own initiative, to the official to whom it was addressed'.

26-7 ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα. It is surprising, but not without parallel, that the purpose of the petition is not explicitly mentioned. The expected formula at this point would run, ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα πρὸς τὸ τὴν δέουσαν παράθεσιν γενέσθαι (vel sim.), see e.g. IX 1199 22-3, XIX 2231. Slightly expanded is the version in P. Coll. Youtie I 65 (=XLVII 3365).81-4 τὸν ἀναπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ (l. ἀπὸ) διαλογῆς χρηματισμὸν ... (ἐπιδίδωμι), ἀξίων ἐπιστελλέει καὶ (l. ἐπιστελλάει) τοῖς τῶν ἐγκτήσεων βιβλιοφύλαξι τὴν δέουσαν παράθεσιν ποιήσασθαι. As in our text the formula is incomplete also in P. Harr. I 75.24-5 ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα, while it is missing altogether in SB VIII 9878.

Completely different is the format of the documents from the Fayūm, where there is usually reference to a future registration, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* 239-40, 242-3.

27-31 καὶ δηλῶ ... μὴ ἀπογεγράφθαι κτλ. If no registration has been made in the name of the last owner, the registrars need to have information about the descent of title, so that the new material can be added in the appropriate place in the records, see Harmon, *YCIS* 4 (1934) 159, 197-8.

32-3 τὸν ἔθμον Ρωμαίους ὄρκον. On this oath, its nature and the dispute on its interpretation see Harmon, *op. cit.* 172 n. 52.

34-7 This titlature is not recorded in R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 3-9. The point of difference and interest is that only Diocletian has the title Germanicus Maximus. This is in agreement with the observation of Stein that his iteration figure for this title is always one higher than that of Maximian, indicating that the victory was won before Maximian become Augustus, see RE VII col. 1255. On the victory titles see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire* 27, 254-5. If Barnes is correct about the occasion of the first German acclamation, it is ironical that the victory was actually won by Maximian, see 255 n. 1, Barnes, *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 176-8.

39 ὄρκον (l. ὄρκον). For the interchange of a liquid with a nasal, which is comparatively rare, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 109-110.

44 { } ὑποθήκη Σαραπί[ωνος] χαλκίως. The ink at the beginning looks like the beginning of a sigma, perhaps a false start on the name of Sarapion. However, Sarapion is the name of the amanuensis of the holder of the mortgage, not of either party to the loan. It is also doubtful which of them may have been a smith.

T. GAGOS

#### 4121. UNDERTAKING TO LEASE LAND

46 5B.48/C(4-7)a

12 × 27 cm

29 August 289-10 January 290

This lease of land is framed as an ἐπιδοχή, a form of contract which is especially associated with Oxyrhynchus, see J. Herrman, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 12, 30, cf. *ZPE* 9 (1972) 1, n. 1. It is directed to a woman lessor who is known from two or perhaps three other documents, see 1-4 n. She was the daughter of a deceased councillor of Alexandria. The name and details of the lessee are lost. He offered to lease, for one

year only, thirty-four aruras of poor quality land, land in which there were rocky places (πετρώδεις τόποι, 11), for a money rent of five hundred drachmas per arura, amounting in all to two talents, five thousand drachmas. The crop is not specified but is referred to only as τῶν καρπῶν (15). Both the description of the state of the land and the absence of description of the crop are unusual features, which make the document itself unique. The rent was to be paid in three instalments at an unusual period of the year on 10 January, 9 February, and 10 April AD 290.

As the rent was to be paid in money, we must first of all exclude from consideration crops which pay rent in kind, especially wheat, see the detailed discussion of these crops in D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 3-6 with all the relevant notes. Clues may be found in other leases of land referring also the embankment of Pecty, where this land was. Of the four existing leases two deal with flax-land and in the other two the object is grass-land. A very similar picture is presented in the leases which refer to the embankment of Nesla (cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 117; last four items and n. 4); this embankment was in the same areas as ours, that is in the territory of the village of Iseu Panga, and so the documents referring to the embankment of Nesla may be of some value for our enquiry. The information can be tabulated as follows:

Reference	Date	Crop	Rent
A. Pecty			
1. PSI III 187*	280/1?	grass	200 dr./ar.
2. PSI IX 1079	296	grass	1300 dr./ar. in three instalments
3. XXXI 2585	315	flax	4 tal./ar.
4. P. Coll. Youtie II 80(=XLV 3255)	315	flax	4 tal./ar.; half of crop (2 parcels)
B. Nesla			
1. PSI III 187*	280/1?	lessee's choice	600 dr./ar.
2. I 103	316, cf. BL I 315	flax	half of crop
3. XLV 3257	318	flax	3 tal. 1000 dr./ar.
4. PSI V 469	334	flax	1 ton tow/ar.

\* In this document land is leased in both embankments.

For A3, B2 and B4 see also XLV p. 129.

With one exception, PSI III 187 in list B, all the leases concern either flax or grass. The main crops seems to have been flax, whose cultivation, as suggested already

in P. Coll. Youtie II 68 introd., was associated in some way with embankments, because flax needs a good supply of water; on flax in general see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 203-5, XLV 3254-3262 introd.; on grass, Schnebel 211-218.

For our document flax seems unlikely, firstly because stony ground must be unfavourable for the well watered conditions which are necessary for flax, and secondly because the rent of 500 dr./ar. is very low for flax land. The Oxyrhynchite leases of flax land of a similar date to our document, at a time of high inflation, record much higher rates of rent: already in P. Mich. XI 610 (282) the rent is 1600 dr./ar., although this document is seven years earlier than ours, see also XIV 1691 (291) 2500 dr./ar. and I 102 (306) 1 tal. 3500 dr./ar.

The rent rates for grass land seem more suitable, although there is some uncertainty. In PSI IX 1071 (296) the rate is 1300 dr./ar., but this is not unreasonable for a document seven years later than ours in a period of inflation. In PSI III 187 the rate is only 200 dr./ar. The editor suggested a date at the beginning of the fourth century, but this is very unlikely in view of the rate in PSI 1071 of 296. J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 11 (1974) 65-6, suggested an earlier date, but favoured 289/290 over 280/1. If it is right to identify the crop in our document as grass and set the date of PSI 187 at 280/1 we would have the following clear picture of the price rises:

PSI III 187	280/1?	200 dr./ar.
<b>4121</b>	289/90	500 dr./ar.
PSI IX 1071	296	1300 dr./ar.

The writing runs along the fibres, although there is no sheet join to prove that this side is the recto. The back is blank.

Ἀὐρηλία Ἡρακλειδία ἡ ματρὼνα στολάτα θυγα-  
 τρὶ Ἀὐρηλίου Ἡρακλείδου γενομένου βουλευτοῦ  
 τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέ-  
 ω[ν παρὰ c. 30 letters  
 5 δι. [ c. 35 letters  
 α[ c. 10 letters ] . [ c. 18 letters . ἐκουσίως  
 ἐπ[ι]δ[έ]χ[ομαι] μισθώσασθαι [πρὸς μό]νον τὸ ἐνεστ[ῶς]  
 5 (ἔτος)" καὶ ε (ἔτος)" ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι ἐν περιχ[ώ]-  
 ματι Πέκτυ τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ ἐν κοίτη καλουμένη  
 10 Ψενερῶτος ἀρούρας τριάκοντα τέσσαρας ἢ ὅσας  
 ἔαν ὦσι, ἐν αἷς πετρώδεις τόποι, φόρου ἀποτάκτο' ὑ'  
 ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμαὶ πεντακισχειλῖαι

ἀκινδύνων παντὸς κινδύνου τῶν τῆς γῆς  
 δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς καὶ τὴν γεοῦ<χον> {σαν} κυ-  
 15 ριεύ<ου>σαν τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τὰ ἀφιλόμενα ἀπο-  
 λάβης. βεβαιουμένης δέ μοι τῆς ἐπιδοχῆς ἀπο-  
 δώσω τὸν φόρον ἐν μηνὶ τριεὶ κατὰ μῆνα  
 πεντεκαδεκάτη{ν}, τῷ μὲν Τύβι μηνὶ ἀργυρίο<υ>  
 20 τάλαντον ἐν καὶ τῷ ἔξῃς Μεχείρ ἕτερον τά-  
 λατον ἐν καὶ τῷ Φαρμούθι τὰς λοιπὰς  
 τοῦ φόρου δραχμὰς πεντακισχειλῖας ἀνπερ-  
 θέτως, γεινομένης σοι τῆς πράξεως παρά  
 τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντω(ν).  
 κυρία ἢ ἐπιδοχῆ καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 25 ὁμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ε Ἀὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου  
 Ἀὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ε" "  
 Α[ὐτο]κράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀὐρηλίου[ν] Οὐαλερίου  
 Μ[αξιμιαν]οῦ Γερμανικῶ[ν] Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν  
 Ε[ὐτυχῶ]ν Σεβαστῶν [. . . . .] (m. 2) Ἀὐρηλία  
 30 Ἡ[ρακ]λειδία[ν] α ἔς<χον> τοῦ-  
 το[ν τὸ ἔ]σον. (vac.)

8 55' καί ε' 11 l. πετρώδεις 12 l. τάλαντων, δραχμῶν πεντακισχιλῶν 14 l. εὐ  
 15 l. ἀφιλόμενα 21 l. πεντακισχιλῖας 22 l. γεινομένης 23 παντῶν 25 ἄς, γαίου 26 ἄς

'To Aurelia Heracleidiaena, *matrona stolata*, daughter of Aurelius Heracleides, formerly councillor of the most illustrious city of the Alexandrians, from ... I undertake of my own free will to lease for the present 6th and 5th year only out of the possessions that belong to you at the embankment of Pecty of this nome in the parcel of land called Psenerotos thirty-four aruras, or however many they may be, in which there are rocky places, at a fixed rent of two talents and five thousand drachmas of money, guaranteed against all risk, the public taxes on the land being at the charge of you, the landowner, and you are to retain ownership of the produce until you receive what is owed. If my undertaking to lease is confirmed, I shall deliver the rent in three instalments on the fifteenth of each month: in the month of Tybi one talent of money and in the following Mecheir one further talent and in Pharmuthi the remaining five thousand drachmas of the rent, without delay, you having the right of execution both from me and from all my property. The undertaking to lease is enforceable and in answer to your formal question I have given my assent. Year 6 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius

Diocletianus and year 5 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, Germanici Maximi, Pii Felices Augusti, (month, day).'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelia Heracleidiaena, have received the duplicate of this.'

1-4 The rare name can be restored from line 30 below and the other details are supplied by P. Coll. Youtie II 68.1-3, of 266, with the purely formal difference that there her father is not given the *nomen* Aurelius, whereas here the trace and the space favour the restoration *A[ύρηλιου] Ηρακλειδου* (2). This is now the latest mention of her. She appears as an orphaned minor in XIV 1637, datable to between 256/7 and 261, when as a Roman girl she cannot have been over the age of twenty-five, and probably she is the minor of the same name in the undated LVIII 3923, see 1-2 n. there. At the date of this document she would have been at most between 53 and 58 years of age.

4-6 There is no clue to the name of the lessee. We know from the singular pronouns that there was only one. The words *τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ* below (9) imply that either the Oxyrhynchite nome or the city itself was mentioned here.

8-9 *ἐν περιχώματι Πέκτυ*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 141-2. It was near the village of Iseu Panga in the southern part of the Oxyrhynchite nome, first assigned to the Upper toparchy and in the fourth century to the 1st *pagus*.

9-10 *ἐν κοίτη καλουμένη Ψερεῶτος*. The term *κοίτη* 'designates the topographical sections in which the land was divided, especially for purposes of *ἐπίσκεψις*' (XXXVIII 2847 18 n.). On *κοίται* in the Oxyrhynchite nome, which are not common, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 157-9, with a list p. 157; add now XLVII 3365 36, 53, 62. They are sometimes named or numbered, but only two Oxyrhynchite *κοίται* are numbered and this is the first instance of an Oxyrhynchite one with a name. The form implies a personal name *Ψερεῶς*, which, however, is not recorded in the lexica of personal or geographical names, or in the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri.

11 *ἐν αἰς πετρώδεις* (l. -δεις) *τόποι*. Neither the expression as a whole nor the adjective *πετρώδεις* are found elsewhere in the papyri. Dioscorides 3.72 says of a plant *γεννᾶται δὲ ἐν τόποις πετρώδεσι καὶ ὄρειοις*. Reference to the quality of the land is rarely made in this class of private agreements in the Roman period, see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 72, where also other formulas describing land of poor quality are to be found. It is interesting that this area, best known for the production of flax, which implies an abundance of water, included some rocky territory.

12 Two talents, at dr. 6,000, plus dr. 5,000, make dr. 17,000, so that the rate for the thirty-four aruras (10) is dr. 500 per arura.

13 *ἀκινδύνων*. Cf. J. Herrmann, op. cit., 134-5, U. Wollentin, *Ο κίνδυνος in den Papyri* (Diss. Köln, 1981).

14-15 *γεοῦ<χον> {cav} κυριεύ<ου>cav*. The invariable formula in these leases is *προς σὲ τὸν/τὴν γεοῦχον*, so that we should not try to restore *γεοῦ<χοῦ>cav*. Presumably *cav* here is just a doubling from *κυριεύουσαν*.

14-16 For the lessor's rights over the crop see J. Herrmann, op. cit. 140-42, and especially A. Kränzlein, *Akten XIII Intern. Kongresses* 215-24.

16 On the warranty clause see J. Herrmann, op. cit. 153 ff.

16-22 On the payment of money rent by instalments see Herrmann, op. cit. 113-14, D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 24-5, 117-18. The specification of an exact day, here the fifteenth each month, is not common in leases, at any rate those from the Oxyrhynchite nome; for a similar case see P. Coll. Youtie II 68.27-31, where the rent is to be paid on the 10th of each month.

Here the three instalments are payable in 290, on 10 January (Tybi 15), 9 February (Mecheir 15), and 10 April (Pharmuthi 15). The time of the year for the payment of the rent is unusual, although almost all months occur in leases of land. However, the months Tybi (27 December-25 January) and Phamenoth (25 February-26 March) appear to have a special connection with the cultivation of *χόρτος*, see Hennig, op. cit. 24, 117 and nn. 135-6, M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 211 ff.

22-3 For the right of exaction clause in land-leases see J. Herrmann, op. cit. 150 and nn. 1-2; for its use and significance in contracts of all types see H. J. Wolff, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 418-38.

24 For the *κνρία*-clause see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* 145-6, 155-64, M. Hässler, *Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden*.

24-5 Cf. D. Simon, *Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel*, esp. 61-6 for its function in contracts framed,

like this one, as a *ὑπόμνημα*. In the Oxyrhynchite documents the addition of *ὑπὸ σοῦ*, as here, is very frequent and limited to this nome, see *ibid.* 15, n. 72.

25-9 The titlature of Diocletian and Maximian is regular for this year, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 4, cf. *ibidem*, *Chronological Systems* 69.

25 The regnal year number 5 here resembles the familiar printed versions with a tail curving backwards, as it commonly does in papyri of the fourth century and later. This is an early example. In line 8 on the other hand it has the earlier form, which is virtually indistinguishable from the ordinary sigmas.

26 The double oblique strokes after the regnal year number 5, which are well separated in line 8, are here written very fast and ligatured together to produce a compressed zigzag. The unusual addition of the second pair was perhaps intended as a filler-sign, so as not to leave a blank at the end of the line.

29 The lost month name must have been a short one. Most landleases are dated to the Mesore of the year before the period of the lease or to the first three months of the period itself, Thoth, Phaophi, and Hathyr, see Herrmann, op. cit. 95-6. The use of the word *ἐνεστ[ός]*, 'current', in 7 proves that the contract was drawn up after the beginning of the regnal year 6 and 5, that is on or after 29 August 289. Probably *Θώθ*, as the first month and the shortest name, is the most likely, although there can be no certainty. The first instalment of the rent was due on 10 January (Tybi 15) 290 and this means that the document was certainly completed before that date.

29-31 Heracleidiaena's subscription seems to imply that this copy with her autograph was held by the lessee, while she as lessor retained another copy, probably with his subscription, see P. Coll. Youtie II 68.39-40 n. But perhaps he and the lessees in that transaction surrendered their leases to her at the end of the lease, because we might well begin to think that all three, or four, of the documents mentioning her that we know may have derived from her own papers.

The handwriting here is very similar to her autograph in P. Coll. Youtie 68 in spite of the fact that this one was written twenty-three years later.

T. GAGOS

#### 4122. APPLICATION FOR AN OFFICIAL MEDICAL EXAMINATION

43 5B.64/K(5)a

16 × 26 cm

22 June 305

This application to the *curator civitatis* asks him to appoint one of his assistants to convey instructions to a public doctor to make an examination of the applicant's wife, who had been violently attacked by a man and his son-in-law and by their wives and sons; the assistant was also required to accompany the doctor and act as witness to the procedure. In addition the applicant asks that this document should be placed on record with a view to possible future proceedings in the court of the prefect of Egypt.

An account of the attack had already been given in an affidavit which had been posted in public. This procedure, like the request for the application to remain on record, implies that for some reason it had proved impossible to initiate a legal action against the accused persons by the customary summons, see XLVI 3304 introd. Perhaps they had fled to avoid arrest or had refused to accept delivery of the summons.

The whole procedure for the inspection of the victims of criminal violence by public doctors, which generated petitions of this type, official orders to the doctors to carry out the examinations, and reports by the doctors and the official witnesses, has been analysed by D. W. Amundsen, G. B. Ferngren, 'The Forensic Role of Physicians in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt', *John Hopkins Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52 (1978) 336-353. Since then two more such petitions have been published, LI 3620 and LVIII 3926.

The writing runs horizontally along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, as is shown by a sheet-join running vertically near the right edge. The back is blank.

ἐπὶ ὑπατων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντ[ί]ου καὶ  
Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων τὸ [ε].  
Ἀὐρηλίῳ Σεύθῃ τῷ καὶ Ὠρίωνι λογι[στῆ] Ὀξυρυγχίτου  
παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου Ἰέρακος Ἀσκληπιάδου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-  
5 τῆς πόλεως. ὅσα παρανόμως τετόλμη[ν]ται κατὰ [τ]ῆς  
ἡμετέρας κυμβίου, Σαραπιάδος τοῦνομα, ὑπὸ Ψύτιος  
καὶ Τίρωνος γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τούτων γυναικῶ(ν)  
καὶ υἱῶν ἤδη πάντων τὴν διήγησιν πεποιήμα  
10 δι' οὗ προῦθηκα δημοσίᾳ μαρτυροπ[ο]ι[ή]ματος. ἐπὶ  
οὗν ἢ ἐγγεγραμμένη μου κύμβιος ἠκί[ε]θαι τῶν  
πληγῶν καὶ ἐπληξαν κατὰ τοῦ βραχε[ί]ονος, ἀναγ-  
καίως ἐπιδίδωμι τάδε τὰ βιβλία, ἀξ[ί]ων δι' ἑνὸς τῶν  
περὶ ἐπὶ ὑπηρέτων ἐπισταλῆναι δημόσιον ἰα-  
15 τρὸν τὸν ἐποψόμενον ἅμα τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπηρέτῃ  
τὴν τῆς κυμβίου διάθεσιν καὶ ἐνγρά[φ]ως σοι προσ-  
φωνοῦντας καὶ αὐ[τ]ὰ ταῦτα εἶναι ἐν [τῆ] τάξει μαρτυ-  
ρείας καὶ ἀσφαλείας [τ]ῆς ἡμετέρας ἔνεκεν πρὸς τὴ  
ρηθῆναι μοι τὸν λό[γον] περὶ τῆς ἐκ[δ]ικείας  
παρὰ τῷ μεγέθ[ει] τῆς ἡγεμονίας. (vac.)  
20 (ἔτους) κας" καὶ ιγς" [τῶν] κυρίων ἡμῶ[ν] Διοκκλητιανοῦ  
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβα[στ]ῶν καὶ Κωνσταντ[ί]ου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ  
τῶν ἐπιφανεστ[ά]των Καيسάρων, Π[α]υ[λ]ῆ κη'.

(m. 2) Ἀὐρηλίος Ἰέραξ Ἀσκληπιάδου ἐπιδέδωκα.

(m. 3) Ἀὐρηλίος Ὠρίων ὑπηρ[έτης] λογιστοῦ

25 (vac.) ἐπήνεγκα.

(ἔτους) κας" καὶ ιγς", [Π]αυ[λ]ῆ κη'.

1 ὑπατων	3 l. Σεύθῃ	4 ἰερακος	5 l. ὅσων	6 ὑπο	7 γυναικῶ	8 υἱων
9 l. ἐπέι	10 l. ἐγγεγραμμένη; l. ἠκίεθαι ἢ ἠκίσται, see note; l. ταῖς πληγαῖς	11 l. βραχίονος;				
αναγ'	13 ὑπηρέτων	13-14 ἰατρον	14 ὑπηρέτη	15 l. ἐγγράφως	15-16 l.	
προσφωνῆσαι, see note		16-17 l. μαρτυρίας	18 l. ἐκδικείας	20 L	23 ἰεραξ	
25 ἐπήνεγ'κα	26 L					

'Under the consuls our lords Constantius and Maximian, most noble Caesars, for the fifth time.'

'To Aurelius Seuthes, also called Horion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Hierax son of Asclepiades from the same city.'

'Of all those outrages that were committed illegally against my wife, called Sarapias, by Psois and Tiron his son-in-law and their wives and sons, I have already given a detailed account in the affidavit which I posted publicly. Since, then, my wife, mentioned herein, was assaulted with blows and they wounded her arm, of necessity I present this petition, requesting that through one of your assistants a public physician be instructed to examine my wife's condition along with the said assistant and that both of them report to you in writing and that this same document may remain in the office for evidence and for my security, so that right of action may be reserved to me concerning legal satisfaction in the presence of his Highness the prefect.'

'Year 21 and 13 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, Payni 28.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Hierax son of Asclepiades presented this document.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Horion, assistant of the logistes, delivered this document.'

'Year 21 and 13, Payni 28.'

1-2 For the consulship see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 105, R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 144-5.

3 For the logistes see LIV p. 222.

5 ὅσα must be corrected to ὅσων to suit the continuation πάντων τὴν διήγησιν πεποιήμα (8).

9 δι' οὗ προῦθηκα δημοσίᾳ μαρτυροπ[ο]ι[ή]ματος. Cf. XLVI 3304 20-21, with the introductions there and above here.

10 ἢ ἐγγεγραμμένη (l. ἐγγ-) μου κύμβιος. Cf. XLV 3245 11-12 ὡστε ἐφιδεῖν τ[ὸν] ἐγγεγραμ[μ]ένον τοῖς βιβλίοις, if the restoration is correct, which this example seems to confirm.

10-11 ἠκί[ε]θαι τῶν πληγῶν καὶ ἐπληξαν. It seems likely that we should look for part of αἰκίζω/αἰκίζομαι together with πληγαῖς, cf. XXXI 2563 33-4 ἠκίετο αὐτοῦς πληγαῖς, XXXVIII 2853 8 ἐπῆλθον ἡμῶν καὶ πληγαῖς ἠκίεσαντο, also probably BGU III 928.8, where the text is printed as καὶ ἔληγεσ ἐκικαμενον(?) and should be corrected to καὶ πληγας ἐκικαμενον (l. πληγαῖς αἰκικαμενον). Add P. Flor. I 59.2 as restored by Wilcken, *APF* 3 (1906) 536.

Here what is written could be interpreted as a phonetic version of ἠκίσται, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 87 for theta representing tau. Interchange of eta and alpha iota is rarer, see *ibid.* 247-8, but ἠκίεθη may be favoured by the following and linked aorist ἐπληξαν, in spite of the switch from the passive to the active. πληγῶν presumably represents πληγαῖς, but the presence of the article remains as an oddity and a difficulty.

15-16 προσφωνοῦντας. We expect the infinitive προσφωνῆσαι at this point, cf. VI 896 31-2. Presumably the writer of the document ignored the demands of grammar in order to emphasize that the doctor's report should not lack the confirmation of the assistant, whose part in the process was legally important, cf. LVIII 3926 18-20 n.

16 καὶ αὐ[τ]ὰ ταῦτα εἶναι ἐν [τῆ] τάξει. Petitions generally ask either for direct legal redress or, in the event that the criminals are unknown or unavailable, for the notice of offence to remain on the record in case the possibility of proceedings for redress arises, see M. *Gdz.* 32-6. In this case it seems likely that the accused persons were unavailable for prosecution, see *intro.* Here he asks for the petition to remain on record in the *officium*/τάξις of the logistes.

16-17 μαρτυρείας (l. -ρίας) καὶ ἀσφαλείας [τ]ῆς ἡμετέρας ἔνεκεν. Cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 38 (=SB IV 7363 = BGU VII 1577). 12-15 ἐπιδίδωμι τάδε τὸ βιβλίδιον, ἀξιοῦντες ἔχειν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν καταχωρικῷ πρὸς μαρτύριον, with XXXVIII 2489 20 ἐπιδίδωμι τάδε τὰ βιβλία ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔνεκεν.

20–22 For the titulature see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 10 para. (4), for the regnal year op. cit. p. 27, and for the conversion of Payni 28 to 22 June, see eadem, *The Chronological Systems* 100. Diocletian and Maximian abdicated together on 1 May 305 at Nicomedia, see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire* 31, 34. It is surprising that this took so long to affect date clauses in Egypt. This is the latest date by them at Oxyrhynchus, but P. Cair. Isid. 41.75 preserves a date by their regnal years equivalent to 23 June 305, see Bagnall, Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 27.

T. GAGOS

## 4123. ORDER TO PAY

36 4B.99/J(3–5)a

10 × 9 cm

307/8

This short dated text has two points of interest. Firstly, the writer and recipient have names which are characteristically Jewish, Theudas and Ananias, so that this item is one of the very few to attest Jews in Egypt after the suppression of the Jewish revolt of 117, see the thin contents of CPJ III, of which the most informative one for Oxyrhynchus is CPJ 473 = X 1205, of 291, in which the local community of Jews purchases the freedom of two slaves. For the very little that we know from other sources of Jews in Egypt in the second and third centuries see E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule* 516–19.

Secondly, the person who is to be paid has the rare title of *λογοπράκτωρ*, in this case augmented by the words *τῆς οὐσίας*, which agrees with two previous occurrences of the word in placing his unknown activities in the context of estate administration.

The text is written across the fibres of a specially cut small rectangle of papyrus. The back is blank and there is nothing to show which side was the recto.

Θευδάς Ἀνανία

ἀδελφῶ (vac.) χαίρειν.

δὸς Πενεχώτη λογο-

πράκτορι τῆς οὐσίας,

5 ἀφ' ὧν μοι (vv.) ἔχεις ἀπὸ

τιμῆς λο[ι]πᾶδος οἴνου,

δραχμὰς χειλίας, γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ἀ.

ἔτους 155 καὶ δ5 τῶν

7 1. χιλίας; γι (long ι cutting horizontal of γ) 5A

'Theudas to Ananias his brother, greeting. Give Penechotes, logopractor of the estate, from the money you hold for me from the price of the balance of the wine, one thousand drachmas, total dr. 1,000. Year 16 and 4 of ...'

1 Θευδάς. The name is very rare in the papyri and this is a very late occurrence. It is recorded in only three other texts: SB I 5026, P. Lond. II 194.23 (p. 125 = SB XIV 11426.30) and P. Mich. V 318. The first is an undated gravestone from Alexandria, the other two are from the first century. It is probably a diminutive from Θεόδωρος, which was much used by Jews, cf. below on Ananias. W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen* s.v. Θευδάς (3) refers to Joseph., *Ant.* 20.5.1, NT *Acts* 5.36, cf. Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East* 47. It is well attested in Roman Iasos, see W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos* ii 212 (index), and there is some slight indication that there were Jews even in the gymnasial class at that place, see no. 284, an ephebic list containing a Judas along with Theudas (8, 9) and other names favoured by Jews, with the comments of L. Robert, *Hellenica* III 100–101.

Ἀνανία. The name occurs only twice in Ptolemaic papyri: SB III 6709 (= P. Cair. Zen. I 59003 = P. Edgar 3 = Sel. Pap. I 31).17 (259/8 BC), and P. Tebt. III 818.19 (174 BC). Both texts are printed also as CPJ I 1 and 24, as they bear explicit evidence of Jewish influence. With the exception of the present text and some items of the archive of Babatha in P. Yadin, the name is not attested in the papyri of the next six or seven centuries and only makes its reappearance in the late Byzantine era. The earliest example of this period is P. Herm. 25.23 (fifth century).

As regards the Ptolemaic period it is beyond doubt that the name is Jewish, but it is not necessary to assume the same for the late Byzantine period and it is perhaps more likely that the name had by then been adopted by Christians, cf. R. S. Bagnall, *BASP* 19 (1982) 110, E. Wipszycka, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 173–181, esp. 181. This occurrence is too early for that and it seems very probable that both parties to this transaction were Jews. On Jews in the Byzantine period see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 944–50.

3 Πενεχώτη. This is a new variant of Πανεχώτης, that is, not recorded in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. Interchange of alpha and epsilon is a common phonetic error, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 278–9, esp. 279 n. 1 on Egyptian names.

4–5 λογοπράκτορι τῆς οὐσίας. This is the second text in which the term *λογοπράκτωρ* occurs written out in full, see P. Baden II 26.40, of 293, see BL III 255. Because it was unparalleled, unjustified attempts have been made to emend it away, see BL V 8, VI 7. In L 3564 4 an abbreviated form has been expanded to *λογοπράκτορος*, probably correctly, since the person so described is the intermediary of C. Calpurnius Aurelius Theon, well known as the owner of substantial estates in the neighbourhood of Oxyrhynchus, see *ibid.* The editor of 3564 suggested that the same term should be expanded in P. Harris I 97.7 *λογοπ(ράκτορι) βαλ(ανείου)*, and this is perhaps favoured by P. Bad. 26.37, which makes it clear that the money collected according to the assessment list of the logopractor (*ἐξ ἀπαιτη[σίμου] λογοπράκτορος*) was in respect of bath-tax (*ὑπ(ἐρ) φόρου βαλανείου*). Logopractors seem also to be mentioned in P. Select. 22 (=J. Bingen etc., *Choix de Papyrus Grecs* 14).10. The text is very much damaged and puzzling; it is the work contract of a secretary to a group of collectors of money tax and has nothing to do with private estates.

Another rare term, *αιτολογοπράκτωρ*, found only in PSI Omaggio 8.5, cf. *αιτολογοπρακτορείαν* (7), and CPR I 243 (=W. Chr. 367).26, see PSI Omaggio 8.7 n., has a superficial resemblance to ours, but it is probable that this official helped to exact payments in kind due to the *αιτολόγοι*.

As to the *λογοπράκτωρ* the following points can be made:

i His earliest certain date is 235 (3564), although the second century P. Select. 22 (=J. Bingen, etc. *Choix* 14) may mention him, and the latest is 307/8 (the present text).

ii There is no evidence that he could be a public official, unless again P. Select. 22 (=J. Bingen, etc., *Choix* 14) faintly indicates it.

iii His duties do not seem to be similar in all texts, but in P. Baden II 26.40 and perhaps also in P. Harr. I 97.7 he is involved with baths. In 3564 he is the representative of an important individual and the document itself deals with a grain transfer. Since the texts range over a long period, it is possible that his function changed over time.

5 A gap between *μοι* and *ἔχεις* seems to be associated with a large ink blot which extends upwards into the line and was probably already there when this line was being written.

ἀπὸ τιμῆς ... οἴνου. The phrase *τιμῆ οἴνου* often refers to money paid in lieu of wine to the military *annonā*, but in this case it seems that it was money received for the sale of wine which was credited to the account of Theudas.

8 ἔτους 155 καὶ δ5 τῶν. The regnal years are 16 Galerius, 4 Maximinus, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 71. Two titulatures are attested for the year, see Bagnall, Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 31–2. They are:

(1) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος

(2) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος  
Either is possible here; perhaps the shorter one is more appropriate to such a short text. Whichever it was would have been followed by the name of the month and the number of the day.

T. GAGOS

## 4124. LOAN OF MONEY

48 5B.107/A(1-2)a

25.5 × 13.5 cm

26 April-25 May 318

This is a private contract whereby a villager, Aurelius Choüs, acknowledges receipt of a loan of three talents, three thousand drachmas, from a townsman, Aurelius Ammon, 'without interest' for a term of not more than thirty days, and at an unspecified rate of interest agreed between the parties for time beyond the term. See 13 n. for the possibility that this form of words indicates a concealed fixed interest of fifty per cent of the capital as well as illegally high interest thereafter.

The contract was written in duplicate by one clerk, each copy occupying a single column, along the fibres of the recto of a piece cut from a papyrus roll, as is shown by one sheet-join near the left edge and another rather irregular one c. 20 cm from the left. The bottom of the sheet is lost, but tops of the columns are well preserved, especially at the right side. The pattern of folds and damage indicates that the document was rolled up with the right edge inside, as usual, and then pressed flat; the exposed edge was tucked in, and an endorsement was written by a second hand on the flat package.

The parallel texts which most closely resemble the present one are P. Select. 7 and P. Oslo II 41, both from Oxyrhynchus, dating from 314 and 331 respectively.

col. i

ὑπατείας [τῶν δ]εσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λι[κ]ινίου  
Σεβαστοῦ [ὃ τὸ ε]ϛ" καὶ Κρ[ί]σπου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου  
Καίσαρος τ[ὸ α]ϛ". (vac.)  
Ἀὐρήλιος [Χωοῦς] Καμήτος μη(τρὸς) Ταλλῶτος  
5 ἀπὸ κώ[μης] Τααμπεμοῦ ε" πάγου τοῦ  
᾽Οξυρυγχ[ίτου] νομοῦ Ἀὐρηλίω Ἄμμωνι  
Θέωνος ἀπὸ τῆς λ[α]μ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) ᾽Οξυρυγ-  
χειτῶ[ν] πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ  
ἐσχηκ[έν]αι παρὰ σ[ο]ῦ ἐν χρήσι διὰ χιρὸς  
10 ἐξ οἴκου σου ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομί-  
ματος τὰ<λα>ντα τρία καὶ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας,

γίνονται) (τάλαντα) γ (δραχμαὶ) ᾽Γ, ἄπερ ἐπάναγκαις ἀποδώσω σοι  
τῷ ὄν[τι] μ]ηνὶ Παχῶν ἄνευ τόκου καὶ ἄνευ  
πάσης [ὑπερθέσε]ως καὶ εὐρησιλ[ο]γί[α]ς, εἰ δὲ μή,  
15 ἐκτίς[ω σοι το]ῦ ὑ[περ]πεσόντος χρόνου  
τόκον [τὸν σταθέντα τῆς] μνᾶς ἐκάστ[ης]  
κατὰ μ[ῆνα] ἕκαστον, γινομ[έν]η[ς σοι] τῆ[ς] πράξεως

col. ii

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου  
Σεβαστοῦ τὸ εϛ" καὶ Κρίσπου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου  
Καίσαρος τὸ αϛ". (vac.)  
Ἀὐρήλιος Χωοῦς Καμήτος μη(τρὸς) Ταλλῶτος  
5 ἀπὸ κώμης Τααμπεμοῦ ε" πάγου τοῦ  
᾽Οξ[υ]ρυγχείτου νομοῦ Ἀὐρηλίω Ἄμμωνι  
Θέωνος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) ᾽Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεω(ς)  
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ  
10 ἐν χρήσι διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου ἀργυρίου  
Σεβαστῶν νομίματος τάλαντα  
τρία καὶ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας, γίνονται) (τάλαντα) γ (δραχμαὶ) ᾽Γ,  
ἄπερ ἐπάναγκαις ἀποδώσω σοι τῷ ὄν-  
τι μηνὶ Παχῶν ἄνευ τόκου καὶ ἄνευ πά-  
15 σης ὑπερθέσεως [κα]ὶ εὐρησιλογίας,  
εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτίσω σο[ι] τ[ο]ῦ ὑπερπεσόντος  
χρόνου [τόκο]ν τὸν σταθ[έ]ντα τ[ῆς] μνᾶς  
ἐ[κ]ά[ς]τ[ης] κατ[ὰ] μ[ῆνα] ἕκα[ς]τον, γινομένη[ς]

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 2) χ(ειρόγραφον) Χωοῦτος ἀπὸ Ταμπεμοῦ (ταλάντων) γ (δραχμῶν) ᾽Γ.

col. i

4 μη' 5 ταα]μ'πεμου 7 λ[α]μ"καλαμ" 8 l. -χιτῶν 9 l. χρήσει, χειρός  
12 γι (long iota cutting the horizontal of gamma) ϛ'Γ, επαναγ'καις: l. επαναγκες 15 εκ'τις[ω]

col. ii

1 ν of ἡμῶν corrected 4 μη' 6 l. ᾽Οξυρυγχείτου 7 λαμ"καλαμ"πολεω"; π corrected  
9 l. χρήσει, χειρός 11 γι (long iota cutting the horizontal of gamma) ϛ'Γ 12 επαναγ'καις: l.  
επαναγκες 19 χι monogram = χ(ειρόγραφον), ϛ'Γ.



'In the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the 5th time and Crispus the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.'

Aurelius Chotus son of Cames, mother Tallos, from the village of Taampemu of the 5th *pagus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome to Aurelius Ammon son of Theon from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you as a loan from hand to hand out of your house three talents and three thousand drachmas of money of the coinage of the Augusti, which of necessity I shall return to you in the present month of Pachon without interest and without any delay or prevarication, otherwise, I shall pay to you interest for the excess time at the agreed rate per mina per month, the right of exaction belonging to you ...'

Back. (2nd hand) 'Cheirograph of Chotus from Tampemu for tal. 3, dr. 3,000.'

col. i

1-3 For the consulship as equivalent to 318 see R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 170-171, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 72, 107. The month and day would have been added at the foot after the phrase *ὑπατείας τῆς ἀντῆς* or *ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης*. We learn from i 13 = ii 12-13 that the month was Pachon, equivalent to 26 April-25 May, see Bagnall, Worp. op. cit. 100.

5 *Ταα]μπεμοῦ*. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 187-9; add XLVIII 3387 3, 3408 9, 29, 3409 6, 3410 24, 3423 2, 11, L 3584 3, LIV 3771 4-5, LV 3804 245, 247, SB XII 11244 (= III 626: description).<sup>3</sup> The village has been identified with the modern place called Tanbū, see *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, Beiheft 69, p. 84.

10-11 *ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος*. See L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 67-8.

13 *τῷ ἔν[τι μ]ηνί Παχών*. The date of the contract is lost, see 1-3 n., but this tells us that it was made in Pachon and the loan was due to be returned before the last day of that month. For the frequency of short-term loans see O. Montevicchi, *La Papirologia* 226. In this case the short term may go hand in hand with a provision for concealed interest, see next note.

*ἄνευ τόκου*. See P. W. Pestman, *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 7-29 for a study of the so-called 'interest free' loans. His conclusion is that expressions such as *ἄνευ τόκου* or words like *ἄτοκος* or *ἀδιάφορος* mean that no additional interest is to be charged, but that the stated capital is greater than the sum received by the borrower by a fixed amount of interest calculated in advance, which is very often an increase of one half (*ἡμισυλία*). It is noticeable here that the stated sum, three talents, three thousand drachmas, is divisible by three, possibly implying a true loan of two talents, two thousand drachmas, with fixed interest of one talent, one thousand drachmas, calculated in advance. In 4117 the stated amount of the grain loan is thirteen and a half artabas, possibly representing receipt of nine artabas, with an addition of four and a half artabas representing fifty per cent interest fixed in advance.

A significant hint in favour of this interpretation is given by SB XIV 11385, which is P. Mich. inv. 1410, published by J. C. Shelton, *JJP* 18 (1974) 157-160. The debtor acknowledges that he has received forty-six talents, four thousand drachmas, *ἄνευ τόκου*, which the editor rightly translates 'free from additional interest'. On the back is a docket which reads, 'Note of hand of Pemes, son of Patas, from Karanis, for the capital sum of 35 talents, plus 11 talents, 4,000 dr. for eight months' interest. Repayment Pachon 9'. The date of the contract was Thoth 10 (line 3), which confirms the term of the loan as being eight months. The monthly interest was 1 talent, 2,750 dr., which for twelve months amounts to 17½ talents, a rate of fifty per cent per annum.

Here the deal is probably even more extortionate. We suspect that a real loan of two talents, two thousand drachmas, after a period of one month without interest attracts interest on a repayable sum increased by one half to three talents, three thousand drachmas. Moreover, since the rate of interest is unstated but described as agreed upon between the parties, it must be suspected of exceeding the maximum rate legally permissible, that is, 12% per annum. For 12% as the legal maximum see H. E. Finckh, *Das Zinsrecht* 27-38.

In 4125 of 322 a capital sum not easily divisible by three, tal. 2, dr. 4,000, is loaned for less than thirty days without any mention of interest or any statement that the loan was interest free, but interest at an unspecified rate agreed upon between the parties is to accrue after the end of the current month. In that case we may guess that there was no concealed interest in the statement of the capital sum, although the rate for the excess time was probably again higher than the legal maximum of 12% per annum.

16 *σταθέντα*, cf. ii 16. This does not mean the 'established', i.e. legal, interest, but is the equivalent of *σταθέντα πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, 'agreed between the parties', cf. 4125 24-25 and n.

Back. This writer uses the spelling with one alpha, *Ταμπεμοῦ*, which is well attested, see P. Pruneti, op. cit. 188-9.

T. GAGOS

## 4125. LOAN OF MONEY

10 1B.169/J(a)

14.5 × 23 cm

29 March 322

An inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus, who was a priest of Zeus and Hera and a carrier of the imperial busts and of the emperors' Victory, here acknowledged receipt of a loan of money for a term of not more than thirty days, with no interest mentioned; interest at an unspecified, and therefore possibly illegal, rate agreed between the parties was to begin after the expiry of the term. The lender, Aphthonius, was the son of a former magistrate and councillor of Oxyrhynchus, Stratonicus, not known from elsewhere.

The contract was written in duplicate by the same clerk, one column for each copy, on one piece of papyrus. The second copy is virtually complete, while only the ends of nine lines of the first survive at the top left of the fragment. The writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, as is shown by a sheet-join running vertically about 9 cm from the right hand edge. The back is blank. The sheet was rolled up with the right edge inside, as usual, and pressed flat, four creases show where the folds came; the major break is along the fifth crease from the right.

col. i

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶ]ν ἡμῶν Λικι-  
νίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ 5" καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφ]ανεστάτου  
Καίσαρος τὸ β", τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις] ὑπάτοις τὸ β",  
(vac.) Φαρμούθ]ι γ.

5 Αὐρήλιος Ἀφθούς Θεώνος] μη(τρὸς) Θερμουθίης  
ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχιτ]ῶν πόλεως,  
ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας καὶ κωμα]τῆς θίων  
προτομῶν καὶ Νίκης ἀπ'τῶν Αὐ]ρηλίω  
Ἀφθονίω υἱῷ στρατονίκου ἄρξ(αντος) ] β[ο]υ(λευτοῦ) τῆς

col. ii

- 10 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατ[ε]ίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου  
 Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε[ ] καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου [[Και]]  
 (vac.) Κ[αί]ζαρος τὸ β, τοῖς ἀποδιχθ(ησομένοις) ὑπάτοις τὸ β',  
 Φαρμούθι γ'.
- Ἀυρήλιος[ε] Ἀφθοῦς Θεώνος μη(τρὸς) Θερμουθίης  
 ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγιτῶν πόλεως  
 ἱερεὺς
- 15 Διὸς καὶ Ἡ[ρ]ας καὶ κομαστῆς θείων προτομῶν  
 καὶ Νίκης αὐτῶν Ἀυρηλίω Ἀφθονίω υἱῷ Στρατονίκου  
 ἄρξ(αντος) βου(λευτοῦ) τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ  
 ἐσχηκ[ε]ῖναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χρήσι διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου  
 ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος τάλαντα δύο
- 20 καὶ δραχμὰς τετρακιςχιλίας, (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) β  
 (δραχμαὶ) Ἄ, ἄπερ ἐπάναγ-  
 κες ἀποδώσω σοι μέχρις δευτέρας Παχῶν  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ις ιδς ες ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερ-  
 θέξεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτίξιν σοι τοῦ  
 ὑπερπεσόντος χροῦνος τόκον τὸ <ν> σταθέντα πρὸς
- 25 ἀλλήλους ἐκάστης μ[ν]ᾶς τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου, γινο-  
 μέ[ν]ης σο[ι] τ[ῆ]ς πράξε[ω]ς π[α]ρ[ά] τ[ε] ἐμοῦ καὶ [ε]κ τῶν  
 ὑ[π]α[ρ]χόντων μοι πάντων. κύριον τὸ χιρόγραφον  
 δις[κόν] γρ[α]φὴν πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον  
 καὶ πα[ν]τὶ τῷ ὑ[π]έρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι καὶ ἐπερω-  
 30 τηθ[ε]ῖς ὠμο[λ]όγησα. (vac.)
- (m. 2) Ἀυρήλιος Ἀ[π]φθοῦς ἔσχον ἐν χρήσι τὰ [[τα]]  
 τοῦ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμὰς τε-  
 τρακειςχει<λί>ας καὶ ἀποδώσω ὡς πρό-  
 35 κεται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγη-  
 σα. Ἀυρ(ήλιος) Ζώϊλος ἔγραψα ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ  
 εἰδότος γ[ρ]άμματα. (vac.)
- (m. 1?) δι' ἐμοῦ Ζώτα ἐγρ(άφη).

5 μῆ) 7 l. θείων 9 β[ο]ῦ 12 αποδιχθ[ε]ς; l. ἀποδειχθησομένοις 13 μῆ) 14 λαμ[ε]ς,  
 λαμ[ε]ς 15 l. κομαστῆς θείων προτομῶν 16 l. αὐτῶν 17 ἀρξ[ε] /, βοῦ 18 l. χρήσει,  
 χειρός 23 l. ἐκτίξιν 27 l. χιρόγραφον 31 l. χρήσει 32 δραχ[μ] 32-3 l.  
 τετρακιςχει<λί>ας 35 ἀρ[ε], ζώϊλος, υ[ ] 37 εγρ[ε]

'After the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the 6th time, and Licinius the most noble Caesar for the 2nd time, under the consuls to be designated, for the 2nd time, Pharmuthi 3.'

'Aurelius Apphus son of Theon, mother Thermuthia, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, priest of Zeus and Hera and carrier of the imperial busts and of their Victory, to Aurelius Aphthonius son of Stratonicus, former magistrate, councillor of the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you as a loan from hand to hand out of your house two talents and four thousand drachmas in money of the coinage of the Augusti, total tal. 2, dr. 4,000, which of necessity I shall give back to you by the second of Pachon of the present year 16, 14, 6, without any delay or excuse, otherwise that I will forfeit to you for the excess time the interest agreed between us on each mina for each month, with right of exaction conferred on you from me and from all my possessions. The cheirograph, written in duplicate, is enforceable, wherever it may be produced and for everybody who produces it on your behalf and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Apphus, have received as a loan the two talents and four thousand drachmas in money and I shall give them back as aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Zoilus, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

(1st hand?) 'Written through me, Sotas.'

1-4, 10-12 For the conversion of the consular date plus era to 322 see R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 179, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 108. Add SB XIV 11611. For Pharmuthi 3 as the equivalent of 29 March see Bagnall, Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 99.

5, 13 In 143 verso (=W. Chr. 474) i 11 an Apphus son of Theon is listed as a guard stationed near the North church in Oxyrhynchus and described as οἰκῶν ἐν τῷ σταβλῷ τῆς Αἰωνίας. The text on the recto is dated to 295, so that the list must be of the same year or, more probably, later, see R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 53 and n. 60. There is a possibility that the guard is the same as our borrower.

Θερμουθίης. Cf. XIV 1708 2 for the same form of the genitive of this name. For nouns in -ā (normally only after ε, ι or ρ in Attic) occasionally displaying -ης, -η see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 3, §A.2, with other examples in women's names.

7-8, 14-16 For κομαστῆς see Stud. Pal. XXII 39.4 (BL III 238; 118), III 519 (=W. Chr. 492). 10, 11 (II), SB X 10231.1 (II), P. Oslo III 94.4 (II/III), XII 1449 2 (BL I 336 and n. 3; 213-217), P. Mich. XI 610.9 (282), XXXVIII 2855 30 (291), XXIV 2421 19 (Κωμαστοῦ ed. pr.; c. 313-323, see R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 57), X 1265 10, 21-22 (BL I 334 and n. 11; 336). All except the first are from Oxyrhynchus. The word has been suggested as a possibility in two other documents, see P. Harr. II 197.18 and P. Ryl. IV 592.1, 16, with little likelihood.

It is worth noting that in all the Oxyrhynchite documents except P. Mich. XI 610 the office of *komastes* is connected with the priesthood of Zeus and Hera. The *θεῖαι προτομαὶ* are those of the emperors, and the Victory is that of the emperors, *αὐτῶν* being used somewhat loosely here. The priest's function was to carry the busts and a statue of Victory in sacred processions, see P. Oslo III 94.2 n., P. Mich. XI 610.9 n.

8-9, 16-17 Neither Aphthonius nor Stratonicus can be identified for certain, although Aphthonius the *nyctostrategus* of 326, see LI 3620, may be a good candidate for the former.

The ex-magistrate and councillor was Stratonicus. For the expansion of the abbreviated titles into the genitive rather than the dative see D. Hagedorn, 'Zur Verwendung von υἱός und θυγάτηρ vor dem Vatersnamen', *ZPE* 80 (1990) 277-282.

11-12 The faint Και at the end of 11 looks as if there has been an attempt to wash it out. In 12 enough

papyrus seems to survive to suggest that the beginning of the line was left blank. The first trace seems to represent the foot of the upright of kappa.

19–20 For deductions drawn from the amount of the capital see **4124** 13 n. Note that interest is simply not mentioned and there is no statement that the loan is interest free, see *ibid.*

21–22 The loan was drawn up on Pharmuthi 3 = 29 March 322 (4, 12) and was to be repaid by Pachon 2 = 27 April 322, a term of thirty days at most. For the short term cf. **4124** 13 n.

The regnal years 16, 14, 6 refer to the reigns of Constantine, Licinius and their three Caesars, that is, 321–2, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 40, *The Chronological Systems* 72.

24–25 The rate agreed between the parties, since it is not specified, must be suspected of being higher than the maximum rate permitted by law, see *introd.* and **4124** 13 n.

37 A very similar notarial subscription, evidently in the same hand, has appeared at the foot of XIV **1716** of AD 333, see also J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im Byzantinischen Ägypten*, 86 (18.5.1), Taf. 47.

It is more difficult to decide whether the same writer was responsible for the main body of the document in each case. Comparison of **4125** with a photograph of **1716**, which is itself now in Cairo, revealed that the hands were basically of the same professional type, although they give rather different impressions, **4125** being more sprawling, while **1716** is carefully controlled and compressed with more emphasis on the verticals. The differences, however, might be due to the eleven year gap between them, and it is hardly possible to say whether Sotas wrote the documents himself or simply countersigned them as head of the notarial office.

T. GAGOS

#### 4126. PRIVATE LETTER

No inv. no.

7 × 8 cm

Third/fourth century

This fragmentary letter with its intriguing allusions to a one-eyed astrologer and the rise of the Dog star was studied many years ago by Professor Anna Świderek but not brought to the point of publication. She communicated information from it to Professor Danielle Bonneau, who referred to it in *Revue d'Égypte* 23 (1971) 58 n. 2. It was quoted from there by Dr V. A. Foertmeyer, *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt* 209. It is not Dr Foertmeyer's fault that the information is slightly inaccurate; when she wrote to us to check it, we were unable to find the original. Now that we have found it, it is expedient to publish a full text, although, as with many private letters, much remains unclear. Speculation about the content is confined to the notes.

The writing runs along the fibres, although there is no sheet-join to prove that this is the recto of the original roll. On the back, downwards along the fibres near the left edge of the letter, where the address is expected, there are indeed remains of writing, but they remain largely unread.

γματειαση . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 ἀναχωρήσας ἐκοιμώμην  
 καὶ προσέπεμψα τὸν ἀσ-  
 τρολόγον ἰὸν μονόφθαλμ(ον) ἵνα ζῆ φωνήσῃ

5 καὶ ἔφη ἐν μὴ εὐρίσκειν.  
 λύχνων δὲ ἀφὰς εἰσῆλθον,  
 καὶ ἀκ[ο]ύσας ἀπὸ Ἐρηνίλ-  
 λης ἃ πεπότηκας αὐτῆ ἐλυ-  
 πήθην ὅτι οὐ κατὰ ἐπέσηα' ζ'.

10 προσδέχου οὖν αὐτὴν ἄνω  
 ἐντὸς τῆς ἐορτῆς. καὶ ἤδη ἄν  
 παρήν, εἰ μὴ κυνόβρωτος  
 ἐγενόμην ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ ἀνατολῆ'

15 τοῦ Κυνοῦ κῆ ὑπὸ μανικοῦ  
 κυνός, καὶ ἕως νῦν δεινώς  
 c. 12 letters ] . . . . . ι . . . . . τοδε  
 c. 12 letters ] . . . . . ειτεου  
 c. 13 letters ] . . . . . ανοδο  
 c. 14 letters ] . . . . . αιωκαι

20 c. 17 letters ] . . . . . ων  
 c. 17 letters ] . . . . . [ . . . . .

Back, downwards along the fibres: ] . . . . . (vac.) απ . . [

'... I withdrew and went to sleep, and I sent the astrologer—the one-eyed one—to call you and he said that he could not find you. At lamp-lighting I returned and when I heard from Serenilla the things that you had done to her I was upset that you behaved in a way unworthy of you. So receive her kindly up there before the (end of the?) festival. And I would have been there already had I not been 'dog-devoured' on the very day of the rise of the Dog star, the 25th, by a mad dog, and until now I ... terribly ...'

<sup>1</sup> Presumably this contains *πραγματεία*, nom., gen., or dat. sing., or acc. pl. *LSJ*, s.v. III 4, records a meaning 'magical operation, spell', which may be relevant, given the astrological and occult context, see below 2 n. -]γματει for -]γματι or -]γμά τι, as well as the four possible verbs listed by P. Kretschmer, E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch* 589 (*μονοπραγματέω*, *πολυπραγματέω*, *λευκοφλεγματέω*, *δμοδογματέω*), seem much less likely.

<sup>2</sup> *ἀναχωρήσας ἐκοιμώμην*. It is possible, given the astrological context, that this is a reference to incubation, the seeking of prophetic dreams while asleep in a religious precinct, cf. N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* 81–4, U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* 348–350. In that case *ἀναχωρήσας* might refer to the journey, not necessarily long, to the seclusion of the appropriate sacred site.

<sup>3–4</sup> τὸν ἀστρολόγον ἰὸν μονόφθαλμ(ον). This modification implies that there was at least one other astrologer in the recipient's circle of acquaintance.

<sup>6</sup> λύχνων δὲ ἀφὰς. The literary idiom is *περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς*, see *LSJ* s.v. ἀφή. A similar temporal expression

occurs in P. Hels. I 2.6, ἤδη λύχνων καομένων. P. Tebt. I 88.13 speaks of contributions to temple lighting, εἰς ... λύχνων ἀφών (l. ἀφάς).

The most likely implication of 'I entered' is 'I returned'. This means that the sleep (ἐκοιμάμην, 2) took place away from home and perhaps during the day. These peculiarities may favour the idea that it was incubation, see 2 n.

10 The meaning of ἄνω remains obscure; it presumably means 'up (there where you are)', but we don't know what that means.

11 ἐντὸς τῆς ἑορτῆς, 'before the festival'? Or perhaps rather 'before the end of the festival'?

12 κυνόβρωτος. This properly applies to corpses eaten by dogs, but here it seems to be equivalent to κυνόδηκτος, 'bitten by a dog' or 'by dogs', see 14–15 ὑπὸ μανικοῦ κυνός.

13–14 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀνατολῇ τοῦ Κυνός κῆ. The 25th day of Epeiph, equivalent to 19 July, was the canonical date for the rising of Sirius, the Dog Star. This also presaged the rise of the Nile flood and was therefore of great significance for the Egyptian calendar and religion, see e.g. XXXI 2554 introd., and iii 14 ff.

15–16 After δευῶς we obviously need to restore something like ἔχω, πάσχω, or ἀσθενῶ, 'I am in a terrible state, I suffer terribly, I am terribly ill'.

22 A possible reading and articulation of ἀπ. . [ is Ἀπολ[λωνι-, but this is far from certain. Also possible is ἀπὸ . [, i.e. ἀπὸ (τοῦ δεῖνος), in place of the usual παρά, see F. Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis* 280.

A. ŚWIDEREK/J. R. REA

#### 4127. CHRISTIAN LETTER: PTOLEMAEUS TO THONIUS

45 5B.57/C(4-7)a

4 × 26 cm

First half of the fourth century

The greeting ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν shows that Ptolemaeus, the sender of this letter, was a Christian. Apart from friendly greetings the content is mostly concerned with buying and paying for goods, the nature of which is obscure because of damage in one case and ambiguous and unfamiliar terminology in the others.

The writing of the letter runs along the fibres of a very narrow strip which preserves no sheet-joins. On the back, upwards along the fibres is an address in one line.

Πτολεμαῖος

Θωνίῳ τῷ

ἀγαπητῷ

ἀδελφῷ ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ

5 χαίρειν.

πρ[ὸ] μὲν π[άν-

των εὔχο[μαί

σε δλοκληρεῖν

ψυχῇ καὶ σώμα-

10 τι]. γεινώσκει[ν

σε θέλω ὅτι

εἰ οὐπω [ἡ]γός-

ρασας τό λῆνα-

ρίδιον καὶ τὰ

15 ἄλλα, μὴ ἀγορά-

σης. ὁ γὰρ ἄν-

θρωπος ἀπε-

τάξατο περὶ αὐ-

τοῦ, ὡς εἶπόν

20 σοι, ὅτι, 'οὐκ ἐγὼ

θέλω'. τὸν δὲ

πίνακα ἔξαι-

τῆς μὴ ἀμελή-

σης πέμψαι,

25 καὶ δήλωσόν

μοι τίνι θέ-

λεις μεταβα-

λεῖν τὴν τι-

μὴν αὐτοῦ.

30 μνήσθητι ἀ-

γοράσαι μοι παρ-

θενικὸν τέ-

λειον κόλιον

τρίχινον

35 καὶ Κανωπι-

κὸν ἄ. τὸν

ἀγαπητὸν

Τιθοῆν

ἀπ' ἐμοῦ

40 προσαγόρευε.

Back, upwards along the the fibres:

Θωνίῳ ἀ[δελ]φ(ῷ) π(αρά) Πτολεμαί[ου].

4 κῶ

10 l. γινώσκειν

23 τ of ἔξαιτῆς corrected

41 α[δελ]φ/π'

'Ptolemaeus to Thonius, his beloved brother, greetings in the Lord. Before all things I pray that you be in good health in soul and body. I want you to know that if

you have not yet bought the linen yarn and the other things, do not do so. For the man gave up his plan for it, as I told you, (saying?), 'It is not I who want (it?)'. And as for the dish (?), do not fail to send it immediately, and let me know to whom you want me to pay the price of it. Remember to buy me a pair of girl's full-sized shoes made of hair and one Canopic (garment?). Greet my beloved Tithoes from me.'

Back. 'To Thonius his brother, from Ptolemaeus.'

2-4 τῶ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ, cf. 37. This expression is characteristic of Christian letters, see M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* 18-19, although it has been argued that it is not a reliable criterion, see E. Wipszycka, *JJP* 18 (1974) 213-15. Here ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ, which incorporates a *nomen sacrum*, proves that the writer was a Christian, see Naldini, op. cit. 22-3.

That ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ goes with χαίρειν and not with ἀδελφῷ is shown, for instance, by P. Neph. 1.1-3, where ἀδελφοῖς is separated from ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ by the names of the senders of the letter:

Ὁφελλί[ω και τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀ]γαπητοῖς  
ἀδελφ[ο]ῖ[ς] I[Α]ἰ[ὸ]ς και Ταπίμ  
ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν).

Cf. P. Neph. 4.1-2, 9.1-3, 10.1-2, 18.1-4.

9-10 ψυχῇ και σώμα[τι]. Cf. P. Herm. Rees 5.14, ἔρρωμένον ψυχῇ τε και σώματι, SB VI 9401.8 ἔρρωμένον ψ. τ. κ. ε., and especially P. Neph. 1.4-5 n. on the frequent juxtaposition of these words in the letters of Paulus to Nephros.

10-16 The grammar is odd. One might think either that the writer forgot that he had begun with γινώσκων σε θέλω ὅτι, or that he is using ὅτι *recitativum*, and so introducing direct speech.

13-14 τὸ λινάριον. This form is not otherwise attested and the reading is not certain, but it seems to suit the traces well, certainly better than any other combination that has been thought of. Such multiple suffixes are rare; L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 90, was able to cite only ζωδαριδιον (?), λογαριδιον, δυναριδιον, πλοιαριδιον, and τιμαριδιον. The diminutive with a single suffix, λινάριον, is fairly common, as are the single suffix forms of most of the others, λογάριον, πλοιάριον, etc., see Palmer p. 88.

For the interpretation of λινάριον/λινάριον as 'linen yarn', see R. Pintaudi, *Aegyptus* 61 (1981) 100-101. An obvious guess would be that the man had wanted to have a garment made, predominantly of linen, but possibly including other material (και τὰ ἄλλα, 13-14).

19-21 ὡς εἶπόν σοι, ὅτι, 'ὄχι ἐγὼ θέλω'. In spite of some abrasion there seems to be little doubt about the reading, with εἶπον in the first person. The last three words are clearly direct speech introduced by ὅτι *recitativum*. The sense of them is appropriate to the man who has renounced his intention to make use of the linen yarn, but not the writer of the letter. Therefore, it seems best to understand a participle such as λέγων to go with ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἀπετάξατο.

The position of ἐγὼ indicates that it is emphatic, but without more information it is not easy to guess why.

22 πῖνακα. The commonest meaning of πῖναξ and πινάκιον in the papyri is 'flat dish, platter', see WB II s.vv., mentioning such items in silver, glass, and tin. Remoter possibilities are that it was writing tablet, more usually πινακίς, or a painted panel, cf. PSI IV 407.8 (III BC).

31-6 παρθενικὸν τέλειον κόλιον τρίχων και Κανωπικὸν ἄ. The first four words seem to refer to one item, a pair of shoes or sandals, although it is puzzling that κόλιον does not come before the adjectives. For singular words, ὑπόδημα, κόλιον, κανδάλιον etc., denoting pairs of shoes see P. Mich. VIII 477.27 n., 508.5 n., cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae Posteriores* ii 534.

This is the first occurrence of παρθενικός in the papyri. Shoes are distinguished as men's and women's in IV 741 8-9 κόλια ἀρσενικά ζεύγ(η) η, [γυ]ναικεῖα ζεύγ(η) ς. We can only guess how girls' shoes were distinct from women's, if indeed a distinction is intended.

For τέλειος applied to shoes see LVI 3869 3 τρία κανδάλ{ε}ια καλά τέλεια π[υ]κνά πάνν. There it was translated as 'well-finished': 'three pairs of nice, well-finished, very solid(?) sandals', but it is perhaps more likely that it refers to the size of the footwear, see P. Oxy. Hels. 40, where tunics are distinguished as χιτώνες τέλειοι or χιτώνες παιδικοί, and means that they were to be of a size suitable for adults, i.e. 'nice, adults', very solid(?) sandals'. This sense is probably to be accepted in other places where τέλειος is applied to articles of clothing, e.g. P. Hamb. I 10.14, 19-20, 32, P. Harr. I 105.8-9, 11.

The exact implication of τρίχων is hard to grasp. It is assumed that garments and sacks of hair were of camel or goat hair either made directly into felt, or first made into yarn and then woven. (Mr N. Gonis reminds us that John the Baptist wore a garment of camel hair: ὁ Ἰωάννης εἶχεν τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου Matth. 3.4, ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου, Mk. 1.6.) The word is not elsewhere found applied to footwear. Mention of χοῖνια τρίχων in Stud. Pal. III 121.4 suggests the possibility that they might have been shoes with rope soles, but no such shoes from ancient times have been traced.

The possibility that the four words should be split into two items, a παρθενικὸν τέλειον and a κόλιον τρίχων has been considered, but the combination of asyndeton between two items with a conjunction between the second and the third seems hard to accept, cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* 15390 (§460).

35-6 Κανωπικὸν ἄ. The meaning is very uncertain. Athenaeus XIV 57 (647 c) cites a certain Chrysippus of Tyana for a list of cakes (εἶδη πλακούντων και γένη) among which Κανωπικά figure, cf. M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 36.32 n. It is possible that this made an appearance in IV 738, a list of dinner menus, where lines 2-3 have Κανωπικὸν/ἥπαρ, translated 'Canopic liver'. This version is suggested by the fact that the other items have numbers, e.g. 5-6 ὄστρεα 1, θρίδαξ α, '10 oysters, 1 lettuce', but since 'Canopic liver' is such an odd and unparalleled expression, we can at least contemplate the possibility that it means 'a Canopic cake (loaf?)', some liver', especially since we might otherwise expect the word order ἥπαρ Κανωπικόν, which could probably have been written on one line.

Our context may imply that the word here denotes an item of clothing, and this seems to be supported by SB III 7243 (= VIII 9746=M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 36). 31-2 ἐκομίθη παρ' Αἰωνίου τὸ κεφαλοδέμιον και Κανωπικά δύο, where, however, the sense 'the headdress and two cakes' is accepted by Naldini.

The ungrammatical and obscure sentence κανωπηκά σοι λημφθέντα αὐτῶν ἀποστέλονται in XIV 1774 (= Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 37). 15-16 seems to get no help from its context.

Finally, a σφυριδιον Κανωπικόν occurs in VI 936 15, so that it is not impossible that Κανωπικόν by itself might mean 'basket'.

T. GAGOS

#### 4128. NOMINATION TO LITURGIES

44 5B.63/(78)a

17.5 × 27 cm

24 September 346

Written in a skilled upright professional hand given to occasional broad flourishes, especially in nu and upsilon at the end of a line, this document, addressed to the praepositus of the first pagus, is a nomination to a number of liturgic duties in the village of Mermertha. The presentation is made in the standard brief formula of the time, cf. 4129-30 introd. Of the particulars, a few of which are lost through surface abrasion of the papyrus, the most noteworthy is that the nomination is dated some days into the Egyptian calendar year, but the nominators are the three comarchs of the preceding year (6-7). The nominators were compelled to remain in office because the comarchs of the current year had not yet been appointed; they are nominated in the present document. Such delays in assuming liturgic office were quite frequent, see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* 66 and n. 7.

The nominee to the office of *quadrarius* was, to judge from his name, Peter (18), a Christian.

There is a kollesis about 3.5 cm from the left edge of the papyrus. The back is blank.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ δ/ καὶ Κώνσταντος  
τὸ γ' τῶν Αὐγούστων, Θῶθ κζ.

Αὐρηλίω Σαραπάμμωνι Εὐλογίου πρεποσίτο α/ <πάγου> νομοῦ  
᾽Οξυρυγίτου

5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίω<sup>3</sup> ᾽Ωρου ᾽Ωρίωνος καὶ Πανεχώτου ᾽Ωρου  
καὶ Πτολεμαίου Ἑρμοῦ οἱ τρίς ἀπὸ κώμης Μερμέρθων α/  
πάγου τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ γενόμενοι κώμαρχοι. δίδομεν  
καὶ εἰσαγγέλλωμεν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν τιμήματι εἰς τὰς  
ἐξῆς χρί[α]ς ὄντας ἐ(ὕ)πόρους καὶ ἐπιτηδίους πρὸς τὴν χρίαν.

10 ἔστι δέ:

τεσσαλάριος

Ἑρμῆς Ἑρμίου κώμαρχ[ω]οι

Παθερμούθις ᾽Ωρου

καὶ Παλεῖ Στεφάνου [καὶ]

15 τῶν ἱερέων μονῶν (οἱ μόνων?)

Ἀνίκητος ᾽Ωρου [κουα]

κουατράριος

Πέτρος ᾽Ωρου

παιδιοφύλαξ

20 Πανεχώτης Ἀρτεμιδώρου

ἀρχέφοδος

Σευήρος ᾽Ωρου

ἐπὶ στιχαρίων

Ἀμμώνις Σεραπίωνος

25 Κοπρεῦ[ς] Ἀράχθου

οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης οὐς καὶ ἐγγυόμεθα.

(m. 2) Αὐρή[λιο]ς Πτολεμαῖος ἐπιδέδ(ωκα).

(m. 3) Αὐρήλ[ιοι] ᾽Ω]ρος καὶ Πανεχώτης ἐπιδεδώκαμεν.

ὁ αὐτὸς ᾽Ωρος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδός.

3 l. πραιποσίτω 6 v of Ἑρμοῦ corr. from ι, η of κώμης corr. from ε 6-7 l. τῶν τριῶν ...  
γενομένων κωμάρχων 8 l. εἰσαγγέλλομεν; ἰδίω 9 l. χρείας, ἐπιτηδείους; v of τὴν corr. from  
inchoate c; l. χρείαν 11 l. τεσσαράριος 15 ἱερεων 17 l. κουαδράριος 19 l. παιδιοφύλαξ  
26 ἐγγυομῆς; l. ἐγγυόμεθα 27 ἐπιδε<sup>δ</sup>?

'Consulship of our lords the Augusti Constantius 4th time and Constans 3rd time,  
Thoth 27. To Aurelius Sarapammōn son of Eulogius, praepositus of the 1st pagus of

the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelii Horus son of Horion, Panechotes son of Horus,  
and Ptolemaeus son of Hermes, the three ex-comarchs of the village of Mermertha of  
the 1st pagus of the said nome. We submit and nominate on our own responsibility for  
the following services men who are of sufficient means and suitable for the service.

'It is as follows:

'Tesserarius

'Hermes son of Hermias

'Comarchs

'Pathermuthis son of Horus

'and Palei(?) son of Stephanus

'of the priests(?) dwellings(?)

'Anicetus son of Horus

'Quadrarius

'Peter son of Horus

'Field guard

'Panechotes son of Artemidorus

'Chief policeman

'Severus son of Horus

'In charge of tunics

'Ammonis son of Serapion

'Copreus son of Harachthes

'all from the said village, for whom we also stand surety.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Ptolemaeus, have submitted this.

(3rd hand) 'We, Aurelii Horus and Panechotes, have submitted this. I, the said Horus,  
wrote for the said (Panechotes) who is illiterate.'

2 Αὐγούστων. See 4129 2 n.

6-7 For Mermertha see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 103-105, and for its location in the first pagus also LV  
3795 9, incorporated into the latest list of villages by pagus, P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 113-118.

8 In liturgic nominations of the fourth century (no earlier example has yet appeared: in SB VI 8971.3,  
perhaps of AD 284/5, the word is restored without parallel) *τιμήματι* is sometimes found in place of the  
traditional *κινδύων*, perhaps under the influence of the formula in the thousands of monthly declarations of  
prices that were filed in the fourth century, cf. LIV *passim*. For a possible clue to the evolution of the meaning  
of *τίμημα* in the third century cf. XLIII 3105 4 n.

11 τεσσαλάριος (l. τεσσαράριος). Cf. LI 3621 5-6 n. For the earliest attestation, now 308, see P. Col. VII  
139.1 n. This document provides the latest.

12 It is difficult to discern just what the scribe wrote, or intended to write, at the end of this line. The  
writing after chi appears at first sight to be omega with an attached iota. Closer scrutiny reveals, however, a  
very faint omicron under the left part of the omega, so that -oi appears to have been altered to -ω. Perhaps,  
however, the relative densities of the ink are misleading, and the correction was really made the other way  
round, because we badly need a liturgical title to attach to the names in the following lines.

The dictum that 'The *tesserarius* always appears as a single official with no colleague or colleagues bearing  
the same title', see A. E. R. Boak, 'Tesserarii and Quadrarii in Egypt', *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History  
in Honor of A. C. Johnson* (ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton) 331, has been invalidated by the appearance of a college  
of two in P. Col. VII 139.1, although it should be noted that that document of 308 is also the earliest to  
attest the office.

14 The effaced letters appear to have been *καί*. If that is the true reading, it would indicate that the writer began to group the three names of lines 13–16, then corrected. This might mean that only the two men of lines 13–14 are designated as being τῶν ἱερέων μονῶν (μόνων?), or that this phrase applies only to the third. In either case the likelihood is that all three are comarchs designate, because the nominators are the three comarchs of the year just ended.

15 τῶν ἱερέων μονῶν (μόνων?). In spite of the abrasion this seems to be the right reading, but it remains inexplicable. At one time the reading was taken to be τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν raising the speculation that μονή here designates a station of the imperial (ἱερός) *cursus uelox*. For μονή and καταμονή as Greek renderings of *mansio* and *statio* cf. CGL II 127.5, 342.27, 372.59, 436.45, III 411.4, 5; for the relevant senses of the Latin terms cf. OLD s.vv., esp. *statio* 6, ‘a body of men manning a military post or the like’. On μονή = *mansio* of the post, and their functions, see P. Köln V pp. 255 and 264. However, with the reading seeming rather to be ἱερέων this speculation looks unsatisfactory, especially since the two *mansiones* in the Oxyrhynchite nome were at Oxyrhynchus itself and at Tacona in the north of the nome, see LX 4087–8 introd., the opposite end from the first *pagus*.

In the papyri of the fourth century μονή does appear with increasing frequency as the term designating a monastery, but it seems unlikely that ἱερέων could refer to Christian priests.

A further possibility is that Ἱερέων refers to the ἐποίκιον Ἱερέων in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 68, but this does not help us to understand the phrase as a whole.

17 κουατράριος (l. κουαδράριος). Cf. P. Col. VII 141.32 n. P. Col. 141, of 308–310, offers the earliest reference and this document the latest.

19 παιδιοφύλαξ (l. παιδιοφύλαξ). This is a late mention, emending N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* 43, where P. Mert. II 89 of AD 300 is the latest instance. It may be an alternative term for ἀγροφύλαξ, cf. *ibid.* 11, see P. Köln V 234.5 n., P. Vindob. Worp 3 pp. 32 f.

21 ἀρχέφοδος. The office is attested as late as AD 359 (BGU III 909).

23 ἐπὶ στιχαρίων. Cf. LI 3621 16 ἐπὶ στιχαρίων καὶ παλ(λίων). The tunics were doubtless collected for the military. The papyri have, as it happens, provided very little information on this liturgic office.

24 Ἀμμῶνις. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25.

N. LEWIS

#### 4129–4130. NOMINATION TO A LITURGY

44 5B.63/79(a)  
44 5B.63/79(b)

12.5 × 29 cm  
10.5 × 27.5 cm

11 May 358  
11(?) May 358

Found together, these two sheets of light coloured papyrus contain two copies of a nomination to a village liturgy. The text displays the customary formula for the period in what we may regard as its skeletal form. A good example of a fuller formulation is LIV 3774. References to the more than thirty extant fourth century liturgic nominations are given in 3774 introd.; add now P. Prag. I 15–16.

The addressee in 4129–30 is the ἐπίκτης δημοσίων χωμάτων, an official who has previously appeared in P. Laur. IV 167 of AD 336 and P. Lond. III 1246–1248, of AD 345 and 346. The nominators in 4129–30 are, as most often in such documents, the two village comarchs, who here submit the names of two men to serve as ἐκβολεῖς (χωμάτων) in the coming year. This is the first attestation of that office later than the third century. For further details on these offices see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 52–53. Also new is the information that the village of Muchinaxap was situated in the third *pagus* of the nome.

A number of other fourth century liturgic nominations also exist in duplicate copies: P. Lond. III 1246, 1247, P. Prag. I 15, 16, PSI X 1106, 1107. It is tempting to infer from these that in the fourth century all such nominations were submitted in duplicate copies, of which in most instances one has not survived or has not yet been published; but the evidence is obviously insufficient for drawing any firm conclusion.

The main hand of 4129 is large and flowing, with touches of elegance such as very large letters at the beginning of lines 5 and 19, and large flourishes in final nu and upsilon. The same writer copied lines 14–25 of 4130, but lines 1–13 were written by a less literate clerk, who made several mistakes not all of which were afterwards corrected. Still another hand, very cursive, its formula very abbreviated, signed for the nominators in both copies.

There is a kollesis in 4130, about 5 cm from the left edge measured at the top (less at the bottom), none in 4129. The backs of both documents are blank.

#### 4129

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεῖαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν  
Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ ἕνατον καὶ  
Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνδριότατου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου  
Καίσαρος τὸ β//, Παχῶν ις.  
5 Αὐρηλίω Ἀπολλωνίω Ἀπολλωνίου  
γυμ(νασιάρχῳ) βου(λευτῆ) ἐπίκτη δημοσίων χωμάτων  
νομοῦ (vac.) Ὁξυρνηγίτου,  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἡρακλείδου Φιλίσκου  
καὶ Ὁρίτου Ὁρου ἀμφοτέρων κωμάρ-  
10 χων κώμης Μουχινάξαπ γς πάγου  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. δίδομεν καὶ εἶσαν-  
γέλλομεν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν κωδύνῳ  
εἰς ἐκβολίαν τῶν διαφερόντων τῆ  
ἡμετέρα κώμη δημοσίων χωμάτων  
15 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους λδς γς τοῦς  
ἑξῆς ἐνγεγραμμένους ὄντας εὐπό-  
ρους καὶ ἐπιτηδίους πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν.  
εἰςὶ δέ: Αὐρηλίοι  
ἐκβολεῖς  
20 Θώνιος Ἀμόϊτος  
Ἰκίδωρος Φιλοξένου  
ἀμφοτέροι ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὑτῆς) κώμης.

(m. 2) *Ἀυρήλιοι Ἡρακλείδης Φιλίσκου  
καὶ Ὠρίς Ὠρου ἐπιδεδώκαμεν.*  
25 *Ἀυρ(ήλιος) Παῦλος Πέτρου ἔγρ(αψα) ὑ(πέρ) α(ὐτῶν)  
γράμματα μ(ῆ) ἰδó(των).*

3 l. ἀνδρειοτάτου 6 γυμ(να)άρχῳ; l. ἐπίκτη 10 μουχινάξπ' 11–12 l. εἰσαγγέλλομεν  
13 ε of ἐκβολίαν rewritten 16 l. ἐγγεγραμμένους 17 l. ἐπιτηδείους 22 α<sup>-</sup> 25 αψ,  
εγρ(α)α<sup>-</sup> 26 γραμ(ι)μιδο<sup>-</sup>; l. εἰδóτων.

‘(The year) after the consulship of our masters Constantius Augustus ninth time and of Julianus the most brave and most noble Caesar 2nd time, Pachon 16. To Aurelius Apollonius son of Apollonius, gymnasiarch, councilman, superintendent of the public dikes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelii Heraclides son of Philiscus and Horis son of Horus, the two comarchs of the village of Muchinaxap of the 3rd *pagus* of the same nome. We submit and nominate at our own risk for the directorship of work on the public dikes devolving upon our village in the current year 34/3 those written herein below, who are of sufficient means and suitable for the service.

‘They are: Aurelii

‘Directors

‘Thonius son of Amois,

‘Isidorus son of Philoxenus,

both from the same village.’

(2nd hand). ‘We, Aurelii Heraclides son of Philiscus and Horis son of Horus, have submitted (this). I, Aurelius Paul son of Peter, wrote for them who are illiterate.’

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀγούστου* rather than *Κεβαστοῦ* is the normal Oxyrhynchite practice in consular dates of this period, cf. LIV 3766 25 n.

<sup>6</sup> *γυμ(να)άρχῳ*. See 4130 6 for the expansion of the abbreviation.

<sup>10</sup> For Muchinaxap see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 108–9.

<sup>15</sup> As there remained but three and a half months in the current year, the nominees no doubt took office almost immediately. In mid-Pachon (4) the Nile was at or near its lowest level, the time of year best suited for the work of cleaning out and repairing the irrigation channels.

<sup>25</sup> In the mid-fourth century a man named Paul son of Peter was almost certainly a Christian.

#### 4130

(m. 3) *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν  
Κω(ν)σταντίου Ἀγούστου τὸ θ καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ  
τοῦ ἀνδριοτάτου καὶ ἐπιφ(ανεστάτου) Καίσαρος τὸ β  
Παχῶν β.*

5 *Ἀυρηλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀπολλωνίου  
γυμνασιάρχῳ βουλευτῆ ἐπίκτη  
ζημωσιῶν χωμάτων νομῶν  
Ὀξυρρυγγίτου, (vac.)  
παρὰ Ἀυρηλίων Ἡρακλεΐδου Φιλίσκα  
10 καὶ Οὐρίτος Ὠρου ἀμφ[οτέρων] κωμάρ-  
χων κώμης Μουχινά [ξάπ] τρί-  
του πάγου τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομ[οῦ]. δ]ἰδομεν  
καὶ εἰσα(γ)γέλ(λ)ομεν τῶ ἰδίῳ ἡμ[ῶν  
(m. 1) κινδύνῳ εἰς ἐκβολίαν τῶν  
15 διαφερόντων τῆ ἡμετέρα κώ-  
μη δημοσιῶν χωμάτων ἐπὶ το[ῦ  
ἐνεστῶτος λδς γς ἔτους τοῦς  
ἑξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένους  
ὄντας ἐνπόρου[ς  
20 καὶ ἐπιτηδίους πρὸς τ[ὴν  
χρείαν. εἰςὶ δέ: Ἀυρήλι[οι  
ἐκβολεῖς  
Θώνιος Ἀμόϊτος  
Ἰσίδωρος Φιλοξένου  
25 ἀμφοτέροι ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) κώ(μης).  
(m. 2) Ἀυρήλιοι Ἡρακλείδης  
Φιλίσκου καὶ Ὠρίς  
Ὠρου ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Ἀυρ(ήλιος)  
Παῦλος Πέτρου ἔγρ(αψα) ὑ(πέρ)  
30 αὐτῶν γρ(άμματα) μ(ῆ) ἰδó(των).*

2 ἰουλιανου 3 l. ἀνδρειοτάτου; επιφ/ (oblique cutting descender of phi), ai of Καίσαρος rewritten  
6 l. ἐπίκτη 7 ζ corr. (from c?); l. δημοσιῶν, νομοῦ 8 ου corr. from ων 9 ω of -λιων  
corr. from inchoate ου; l. Φιλίσκου 10 l. Ὠρίτος 13 ἰδίω 18 l. ἐγγεγραμμένους 20 l.  
ἐπιτηδείους 24 ἰσίδωρος 25 α<sup>-</sup> κω<sup>-</sup> 28 αψ<sup>-</sup> 29 εγρ(α) 30 γρ(ι)μιδο<sup>-</sup>?/ l. εἰδ-

<sup>4</sup> *Παχῶν β*. The end is abraded. 4129 has *Παχῶν ις* clearly. Here there seems to be no iota and the remains of the single letter seem to be those of a beta, but probably there is some error. The suggestion is that he copied beta from the consular figure at the end of line 3.

<sup>6</sup> *γυμνασιάρχῳ*. Cf. 4129 6 n. If the reading is correct this *ἐπίκτης χωμάτων* was a gymnasiarch liable for that duty, probably for a short period only, in the same year, cf. 4119 introd.

<sup>9</sup> *Φιλίσκα* (l. *Φιλίσκου*). Alpha is plain here, but there is no other trace of a name *Φιλίσκα*. The explanation is probably that the first writer in this text was using 4129 as his model. There, both in the main



hand and in the hand of the subscriber, the ending is written in a very rapid and sketchy way which gives the impression of alpha, but is probably to be interpreted as the usual -ou ending.

N. LEWIS

**4131. RECEIPT FOR A DONATION TO A HOSPITAL**

54 I B.25(B)/A(1)a

11 × 30 cm

18 (?) September 600

The donor of seven artabas of wheat to the hospital of Leucadiu was Flavius Apion III and the receipt was issued by a woman steward (*οικονόμος*) called Maura, who was illiterate and had her subscription written on her behalf by the notary who countersigned the receipt. A good parallel to the form of the document is XVI 1898 (= P. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* No. 79), also a receipt for an Apion donation to a hospital.

The loss of the top has removed the date clause, except for the month and day, but the subscription and notarial signature of Joseph (33–38) seems to be in the same hand as that of the Joseph in P. Monac. III 98.30–36 of 593/4, see *ibid.* Taf. 42, so that the fourth indiction of this document is very probably 600/601. There are some differences in the scripts of the two passages, chief of which might be the spelling of the Latin form of Joseph in P. Monac. 98 as *Iosyf*, while here he is *Iosef*, but the differences can be ascribed convincingly to the six-year interval between the documents.

The writing runs along the fibres of the recto, as a sheet-join running vertically about 3 cm from the left edge shows. On the back, downwards along the fibres, is an endorsement summarizing the content.

c. 10 letters ] . . . [ . . . ]  
c. 5 letters ] . Θ[ω]θ κ̄α, [ι]νδ(ικτίωνος)

(vac.) τ]ετάρτης. (vac.)

Φλ[αουίω] Ἀπίωνι τῷ

5 πανευφήμω καὶ

ὑπερφνεστάτῳ ὑπάτῳ

γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα

τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγγ(ιτῶν)

πόλει διὰ Μηνᾶ

10 ο[ι]κέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντο' ε'

καὶ προσπορίζοντος

τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτ' ᾧ'

πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ

τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ [εγ]

15 ἐνοχὴν, τὸ εἰλαγὲς  
νοσοκομῖον τὸ καλούμ(ενον)  
Λευκαδίου δι' ἐμοῦ Μαύρας  
τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκονόμου.  
ἔσχον ἐγὼ ἢ αὐτῇ  
20 Μαύρα παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν  
ὑπερφνεσίας καὶ  
ἐπληρώθη τὴν  
ἐξ ἔθους προσφορὰν  
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς παρούσης  
25 τετάρτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) προσάπαξ  
σίτου ἀρτ<ἀβ>ας ἐπτὰ, γι(νονται) ζί(του)  
(ἀρτάβαι) ζ̄, δοθείσας μοι  
διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκειμωτάτου  
Ἄνουπ, νοταρίου τοῦ  
30 ἐνδόξου ἡμῶν οἴκου.  
κυρία ἢ ἀπόδειξις ἀπλ(ῆ)  
γράφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖσα) ὠμολ(όγησα).  
(m. 2) + ἐγὼ Μαύρα οἰκονόμος  
τοῦ νοσοκομίου Λευκαδίου –  
35 στοιχεῖ μοι ἢ παρούσα ἀπόδειξις(ις)  
ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Ἰωσήφ ἔγρ(αψα) ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτῆς  
ἀγραμμ(άτου) οὔσης.  
(vac.)  
✠ di' emu Iosef et eliothh

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 2?) + ἀπόδ]ε[ιξ](ις) τοῦ νοσοκομ(είου) καλουμ(ένου) Λευκαδίου διὰ  
Μαύρας οἰκονόμου  
40 ζί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ζ̄.

2 [ι]νδ//	6 ὑπερφνεστατωῦπατω	8 οξυρυγγ/	10 l. ἐπερωτῶντος	12 ἰδιω
13 ἀνδρ: δ corrected from τ	16 l. νοσοκομείου; καλουμς	20 ὑμων: ὄ corrected from η?		
21 ὑπερφνεσίας	24 ὑπερ	25 ἰνδ//	26 γι/ει/	27 Ɱ=(ἀρτάβαι)
28 l. εὐδοκειμωτάτου	30 l. ὑμῶν; οἴκου: ου corr.	31 l. ἀπόδειξις; ἀπλ//	32 γραφ/, ἐπερ/ωμολ/	37 ἀγραμμς
34 l. νοσοκομείου	35 ἀποδειξ/	36 προκ//ἰωσηφεγρ/υ/; αὐτῆς: η corr. from ου		
39 ἀποδ]ε[ιξ]/?; νοσοκομςκαλουμς	40 ει/Ɱ			

‘... Thoth 21, fourth indiction.’

‘To Flavius Apion, the most renowned and most extraordinary consul, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same most renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), the well-sanctified hospital called Leucadiu, through me Maura, the steward in (charge of) it. I, the same Maura, received from your Excellency and was paid in full the customary oblation also in respect of the present fourth indiction once and for all seven artabas of wheat, total wheat art. 7, delivered to me through the most respected Anup, *notarius* of your glorious household. The certificate is enforceable and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Maura, steward of the Leucadiu hospital, am satisfied with the present certificate, as aforesaid. I, Joseph, wrote on her behalf because she is illiterate.’

‘Completed through me, Joseph.’

Back. ‘Certificate of the hospital called Leucadiu through Maura, steward: wheat, art. 7.’

1–3 The identification of the fourth indiction as that of 600/601 depends on the recognition of the notary Joseph, see introd. and 33–38 n. The lost top of the document might have been on the same model as LVIII 3938 1–6, with an invocation of Christ, a regnal year clause for the nineteenth year of Maurice, and a consular clause for his eighteenth consular year, or perhaps on the model of 3939 1–3, with an invocation of Christ and the short formula by a nameless consul, but with the consular year of Maurice. The remains in line 2 favour  $\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \iota\eta$ , as expected; the slight remains in line 1 are hard to match with the formula, but could perhaps best represent  $\delta\epsilon\lceil\zeta\pi\lceil(\acute{o}\tau\omicron\upsilon)$  or  $\delta\epsilon\lceil\zeta\pi\lceil\acute{o}\tau\omicron\upsilon$  in the consular clause  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\tau\lceil(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\beta(\epsilon\epsilon\text{-}\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon)\ \acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\omega\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\pi(\acute{o}\tau\omicron\upsilon)$  or  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ .

2 For the day number  $\kappa\alpha$  probably suits the trace and cramped space best. If correct, the date would be 18 September, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 98. At any rate, it will be in the period 18 to 26 September 600.

4–6 Flavius Apion III is normally addressed at this period as  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega\upsilon$  rather than  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ , see LVIII 3939 4–5 n., although in 590 he does appear with Flavia Praejecta in XIX 2243A 86 as  $\tau\acute{\omega}\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\phi(\acute{\eta}\mu\omega)$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ . The wording here is just like the address to Flavius Strategius, the ‘pseudo-Stratægus III’, in LVIII 3936 6–7.

9 On Menas see LVIII 3935 7 n.

16  $\nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\omega\upsilon$  (l. - $\epsilon\iota\omega\upsilon$ ). On hospitals see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources ... des églises* 115, 117–8, W. F. G. J. Stoetzer, K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 195–7.

16–17  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu(\epsilon\upsilon\omega\upsilon)\ \Lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ . This designation is new. It is not clear whether Leucadius was a founder, a saint or martyr, who would be new also, or the eponym of a village or other locality.

17–18  $\text{Μαύρας} \dots \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon$ . For the rare name cf. Stud. Pal. I 198.2, XVI 1988 13, 2029 10, P. Select. 13.2, 20. None of these is likely to be the same. This is the first instance of a woman acting as steward of a charitable institution. She is illiterate, see 33–7, but this is not surprising, see R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 247, 250, on the literacy of women, cf. 249 on the literacy of deacons.

22–6 It is clear from the wording, ‘customary ... also in respect of the present fourth indiction’, that the oblation is an annual gift to the hospital. On  $\pi\omicron\sigma\phi\omicron\tau\omicron\alpha\lceil$  see E. Wipszycka, op. cit. 64–86 (Ch. III. Les Oblations), esp. 78–95 (analysis of papyrus texts). Cf. LVIII 3936 18–19, where a priest’s salary is ‘delivered by custom in respect of the holy donation’— $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\iota}\psi\omega\upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta\iota\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\sigma\phi\omicron\tau\omicron\alpha\lceil$ .

29  $\nu\omicron\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ . Cf. LVI 3867 23 n.

33–38 See introd. for the identification of the notary Joseph. In spite of the necessary differences between the Greek subscription and the Latin countersignature of the notary, the similarity of the slope and the weight of the strokes seem to favour the suggestion that they were both written by the notary. Cf. below 39–40 n.

38  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lceil\iota\omicron\eta\eta\eta$  (=  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\theta\eta$ ) is very rapidly written, even more rapidly than is P. Monac. III 98.36 (Taf. 42),

which, however, confirms that this is the right interpretation. On the meaning of the terminology and the notarial *completio* see LVIII 3933 40 n.

39–40 The script of the endorsement, in spite of its larger size and more formal appearance, has many similarities with the Greek subscription and has therefore been doubtfully attributed to the notary Joseph.

T. GAGOS

#### 4132. SALE OF WINE WITH DEFERRED DELIVERY

389/1

12 × 33.5 cm

2 May 619

Documents of this well known type have been recently treated by A. Jördens in P. Heid. V pp. 296–341, esp. 332–341 and, for wine only, N. Kruit, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 167–184. Compare too the article by Jördens in *ZPE* 98 (1993) 263–282, on contracts with the reverse provision, that is, sales of commodities with deferred payment.

Here a villager acknowledges receipt of eight solidi from a veterinary surgeon of Oxyrhynchus, as the price of eight hundred jars each containing five sextarii of wine of the coming vintage. Although the sum is unusually large for the type of contract, the price rate of 500 sextarii per solidus falls in the normal range for the period, which is about 400 to 550 per solidus, see P. Heid. V pp. 110–111, with the reservations of N. Kruit, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 182–4. He undertakes to deliver the wine in August at an agreed place, ‘the praesidial canal’, to guarantee its quality until January, and also to be responsible for supplying eight more jars of old wine and eight of must, together with a sucking pig worth 4 carats of gold, as ‘expenses of the vintage’ (31). This looks as if it represents a party for the grape pickers, but it is difficult to see why that should be of interest to the buyer. Could it be that the buyer also hired the labour in a separate transaction? The normal price of the wine, see above, counts against such a theory.

The contract is of type 2 according to Kruit’s classification (168–9), in that it specifies the price, but the wording includes elements of the formula of type 1, see Kruit’s table on p. 170, and is otherwise not perfectly coherent, see 22–5 n.

The writing runs along the fibres of the front, although there is no sheet-join to prove that this is the recto. An endorsement identifying the contract runs downwards along the fibres of the back.

+  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\lceil\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}(\tau\omicron\upsilon)\ \text{Ἰησοῦ}$   
 $\text{Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος}$   
 $\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\omega\upsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   
 $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\beta(\epsilon\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon)\ \acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\omega\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}(\tau\omicron\upsilon)\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$   
 5  $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Phi\lambda(\alpha\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon)\ \text{Ἡρακλείου τοῦ}$   
 $\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \text{Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος} \ \xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$

(vac.) ἡ Παχῶν ζ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ε) ζ̄. (vac.)  
 Αὐρήλιος Ἰερημίας υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ  
 μητρὸς Θασιέης ἀπὸ ἐποικίου  
 10 Παγγουλεείου τοῦ Ὁξ(υρρυ)χ(ίτου) νομοῦ  
 μετ' ἐγγυητοῦ ἐμοῦ Στεφάνου  
 προνοητοῦ, υἱοῦ τοῦ μακαρίου  
 Μηνᾶ, Αὐρηλίω Ἐπιφανίω  
 ἰπποιάτρῳ υἱῷ Φοιβάμμωνος  
 15 ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξ(υρρυ)χ(ιτᾶν) πόλεως. ὁμολογῶ  
 ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐντεῦθεν  
 ἤδη χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια  
 ὀκτώ ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῶ  
 εἰς τὴν συναρέσασάν μοι  
 20 τιμὴν πλήρης οἴνου πενταξέστι' αἰώ(ν)  
 σηκωμάτων ὀκτακοσίων  
 ἐν τῇ τρύγγῃ τοῦ Μεσο[ρῆ] μηνὸς  
 τῆς παρούσης [ε ζ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) οἴνου  
 ῥύξεως ὀγδ[όσης ἐπιμε(μήσεως) c. 5  
 25 τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπ[ι] . . . ] υ ἢ [καὶ ἐ] γὰρ  
 ὁ τοῦτο <υ> ἐγγυητ[ῆ]ς οἴκοθεν  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διδόν[α]ι, εἰάν ἀγνωμονή 'εἴη'  
 ὁ πρωτότυπος, ἀναδεχόμενος  
 τὴν καλλονὴν τοῦ οἴνου μέχρι  
 30 τοῦ Τῦβι μηνός. δώσω δὲ καὶ τὰ  
 ἀναλώματα τῆς τρύγγης οἴνου  
 παλαιὰ σηκώματα ὀκτῶ καὶ  
 μουστάρια ὀκτῶ καὶ δελφάκιον  
 ἐν τιμῆς κερατίων τεσσάρων.  
 35 ὁμολογῶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀποκαταστήσω 'σοί'  
 ἕως τῆς ἀρχοντικῆς δ[ι]ώρυκος.  
 κύριον τὸ γραμμ(άτιον) ἀπλ(οῦν) γραφ(έν) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)  
 ὠμολ(όγησα). + (m. 2) ₪ Αὐρη(ήλιος) Ἰερημίας υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ -  
 στοιχ(εῖ) μ(οι)  
 40 τοῦτο τὸ γρ(αμμάτιον) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Μᾶρκος ξγρ(αῖσα) ὑ(πὲρ)  
 αὐτοῦ ἀγρ(αμμάτου) ὄντος. +

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 3?) + γρα(μμάτιον) Ἰερημίου υἱ(οῦ) Ἰωσήφ ἀπ' ὁ Παγ[γου]λεεῖου μετ'  
 ἐγγ(υητοῦ) Στεφάνου προ(νοητοῦ) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισματίων) ἡ  
 ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ) τ(ι)μῆς οἴ(νου) (πεντα)ξ(εστιαίων) [ε]ηκ(ωμάτων) ὦ. +

1 δεσπ̄ς	4 ευεβς, δεσπ̄ς	5 φλς	6 αυτοκρ/	7 ωδ°/	8 ἱερημιασνιοσιωσηφ
9 l. Θασιέιος?	10 οξ <sup>χ</sup>	12 υἱου	14 υἱῷ; l. Φοιβάμμωνος	15 οξ <sup>χ</sup>	18 ἰδιωτικω
20 πενταξεστι' αἰώ'	32 l. παλαιού	34 εἰν	35 l. ἀποκαταστήσαι	36 l. διάρρυχος or	
διάρρυχος	37 γραμμς/απλ/γραφ/, επερ/	38 ωμολ/, αυρ/, στοιχςμ?	39 γρ/, προκ/, εγρ/υ/		
40 αγρ/	41 γρ̄/ἱερημουσι/ἰωσηφ, εγγς, πρ̄/χρς/ῥ	42 ἰδ/ζυγς/τι/οι/εξ/[ε]ηκ/			

'In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our god and saviour. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Heraclius, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, 9th year, Pachon 7, indiction 7.'

'Aurelius Jeremiah son of Joseph, mother Thaesis, from the hamlet of Panguleciu of the Oxyrhynchite nome with as guarantor me, Stephanus, administrator, son of the late Menas, to Aurelius Epiphanius, veterinary surgeon, son of Phoebammon, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites. I acknowledge that I have received from you immediately now eight gold solidi on the private standard as the price agreeable to me in full of eight hundred five-sextarii jars of wine in the vintage of the month of Mesore of the present 7th indiction from the wine yield of the eighth indiction (by the measure?) of the holy (= Saint?) Epi(machus?), or, alternatively, I, his guarantor, will deliver on his behalf at my own expense, if the principal party should be in default, guaranteeing the fine quality of the wine until the month of Tybi. Moreover, I will pay the expenses of the vintage, that is, eight jars of old wine and eight jars of must and one sucking pig, worth four carats. I acknowledge that I will deliver these to you at the praesidial canal. The contract, written in a single copy, is enforceable and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'Aurelius Jeremiah son of Joseph—this contract is satisfactory to me, as aforesaid. I, Marcus, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.'

(3rd hand?) 'Contract of Jeremiah son of Joseph from Panguleciu with as guarantor Stephanus, administrator, for 8 gold solidi on the private standard as the price of 800 5-sextarii jars of wine.'

1-3 On the invocation see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 112-133, esp. 120-121, 362-5.

3-6 This is the standard form of regnal year clause for Heraclius at Oxyrhynchus, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 68-9, cf. LVIII 3954 3-7 n. for rare variations.

6-7 For the conversion of 9 Heraclius, Pachon 7, indiction 7, to 2 May 619 see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 92, 100.

8-10 Aurelius Jeremiah is known from PSI I 61.10-12, which dates from AD 609. Jeremiah, described as an ἐν[απόγρ]αφ(ος) γεωργός of Flavius Apion III, guarantees the presence when required of another *colonus adscripticius* from the same ἐποίκιον, which is there described as belonging to Apion. Here, ten years later, he is not identified as a *colonus*, but that is not necessarily because his status has changed; we might guess that it only needed to be stated in transactions between him and his landlord.

9 *Θαησίης*. The reading is clear, but this form of the name is not attested elsewhere. In PSI 61.11 the mother's name is printed as *Θαή[σι?]ος*, which is the expected form of the genitive of *Θαησίας*. The genitive *Θαησίας* appears from the fifth century onwards, presumably from the same nominative: P. Lond. V 1773.3 (454), 1866.3, 5 (V), P. Prag. I 46.5 (522), SB I 5656.5 (568), P. Lond. V 1774.4 (570), P. Michael. 48.7 (572), P. Bad. IV 95.121 (VII). In P. Ross.-Georg. III 16.27 (VI) the editor's *Δίος Θαησία Κο[ ]* should probably be articulated *Δίος Θαησίας Ο[ ]*. In SB VI 9595.6 (VII) *μ(η)τρ(ος) Θαησία* should probably have the final sigma supplied, whether the fault is that of the printer, the scribe or the editor.

9-10 *ἐπουκίου Παγγουλεείου*. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 128-9. If it is the same as *Παγκουληίου* in P. Harr. I 137.5, 24, it will be near Seryphis in the Western toparchy, later in the third *pagus*, now identified with Ašrūba. *Παγκουληίου* in LVIII 3923 3 is probably the same. See also F. Gomaà, R. Müller-Wollermann, W. Schenkel, *Mittelägypten zwischen Samalūt und Gabal Abū Sīr* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 69) 81 s.v. (M 3) Qulūsunā. This speaks forcibly against Gauthier's identification of Panguleciu vel sim. with Qulūsunā, which is too far south and east of Ašrūba.

11-13 The guarantor is the *προνοητής* of the area of the Apion estate centred on Panguleciu and is known to us also from VI 999 (=I 196) of 616/7, a document described as an 'account of receipts and expenditures on one of the estates of Flavius Apion the younger.' The editors cite a heading including the words, 'δι' ἐμοῦ *Στεφάνου προνοητοῦ Παγγουλεείου* *κὺν το(ις) ἄλλ(οις) μέρ(εσι) (καὶ) Μα[ρ]γαρίτου καὶ Ἀμβουότου καὶ Μαιουμά καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἑξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων*'.

For the office of *προνοητής* cf. LV 3804 introd. p. 96 para. 3. It is unusual to encounter a *προνοητής* in a document such as this, which seems to be a private transaction outside the framework of the Apion estate, cf. below 25-28 n. Perhaps the guarantee of the steward was valuable particularly as a symbol of the agreement of the landowner to a transaction with one of this tenant farmers.

13-15 The veterinary surgeon Aurelius Epiphanius is unknown. On the little that is known about *ἰπποῖατροι* see O. Nanetti, *Aegyptus* 2 (1942) 49-54. She cites four references from papyri: I 92 3 (337), P. Ross.-Georg. V 60.4 (late IV), P. Lips. 101 ii 24 (BL I 213; IV/V), XVI 1974 7-8 (538, see BL VII 143); add O. Florida 15.3 (II), SB XIV 12059.6 (III/IV), CPR VII 38.3 (IV), O. Ashm. Shelton 83.2, 131.2, 144.2 (all IV), PSI VIII 955 fr. 2.14 (VI).

In 1974 a villager acknowledged that he owed another horse-doctor one and a half solidi in respect of sour wine delivered previously according to an agreement. The agreement was probably a contract like this one; presumably some of the wine contracted for had gone sour and the sum of money was a penalty or compensation, cf. the guarantee of the quality here in 28-30.

22-25 The promise to repay has been garbled, omitting its most basic part, which should have been something like *ἄπερ ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω σοι ἢ ὅπερ οἶνον ἀποδώσω σοι*.

24-25 The damaged passage bridging the lines probably refers to a particular measure, as in BGU XII 2177.6-7 *οἶνον ἀγγ(εία) μικρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Φοιβάμ. . . . ἰου. . . ε καρπῶν ἐβδόμης ἰνδ(ικτίονος)*, which in spite of the damage seems to refer to wine jars of a church or monastery of St Phoebammon. There was a martyr called Epimachus, see H. Delehaye, *Les martyrs d'Égypte* 214 (index), and esp. p. 104, and *Ἐπιμ[άχου]* would be a possible restoration, though the traces of the putative mu are scanty. His day, but not his church, is mentioned in XI 1357 6, and it is also to be noted that he does not receive the epithet *ἅγιος*, see 1357 introd. pp. 24, 26-7. Nevertheless we might think of a restoration on the lines of *μέτρῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐπιμ[άχου]*, cf. P. Sta. Xyla I 6, a sixth century document of the same type as this, lines 5-6 *μέτρῳ τοῦ τόπ[ου] Ἄπα Ἀπολλῶτος*; the note there refers us also to P. Grenf. II 90.13-14 *μέτρῳ τοῦ εἰσαγοῦς μοναστηρίου ἁββά Ἀγενοῦς*. For *μέτρῳ* in not dissimilar contexts see P. Amst. I 48.14 (VI), BGU XII 2207.15 (606), 2209.19 (614).

25-28 Cf. XVI 1876 20-21 (592) *ἢ καὶ ὁ τούτων ἐγγυητής οἰκοθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόναι*. That document is an acknowledgement of loan of seed corn and is addressed to the heirs of Flavius Apion II; its primary interest lies in the fact that the borrowers are *ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί* and their guarantor, as in our document, is their *προνοητής*. Similar is SB XVI 12486.21-24 (470; Hermopolite): *προσομολογῶ δὲ ἐγὼ ὁ ἐγγυητής ἀναδέχεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀγνωμονήσειεν* (i. *ἀγνωμονήσειεν*) *ὁ πρωτότυπος, ἐγὼ αὐτὸς οἰκοθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποδώσω*.

28-29 *ἀναδεχόμενος τὴν καλλονήν*. On formulas of this sort see H. Harrauer, *Misc. Pap. I* (=Pap. Flor. VII) pp. 125-6. More usual in Oxyrhynchite documents is *ἐνεχόμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ οἴνου καλλονήν*.

29-30 *μέχρι τοῦ Τύβι μηνός*. This means to the end of Tybi, cf. e.g. P. Sta. Xyla I 6.9-10 n., listing parallels with the wording *μέχρι ἔλου τοῦ Τύβι μηνός*; so too in P. Col. VIII 245.20 read *ἔλου* instead of *τέλου*, see Pl. 54.

30-34 This kind of provision is not attested for certain elsewhere. However, in P. Flor. I 65.17-18

(570/1?), where similar goods are stipulated, and the text reads *καὶ λογο[ ] ἀλομενος κνιδία δ̄ καὶ μουστάρια δ̄*, I am inclined to suggest tentatively the restoration *λόγῳ [ἀν]αλόματος* (i. *ἀναλόματος*).

31-32 *οἶνον παλαιά* (i. *παλαιῶν) σηκώματα*. Old containers are not likely to have been required, old wine, however, is, cf. e.g. LV 3854 2, BGU XII 2175.8, PSI III 191.2, 193.3, Stud. Pal. XX 218.30.

33 *μουστάρια*. These are known only from late Byzantine documents: P. Flor. I 65.18, in a very similar context (570/1?), P. Mich. inv. 3712.2 (P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 78; VI/VII), and CPR VIII 63.2 (VI). The term is difficult, but I think that both C. Ricci, *La Collura della Vite* (Studi della Scuola Papirologica IV.i) 73-4, and Sijpesteijn, loc. cit. are correct to associate *μουστάρια* with *μοῦστος/μοῦσθος* and particularly with the measure *μοσθίον*, which is known only from XII 1589 16.

35-36 For similar provisions whereby the debtor undertakes the delivery to a certain place, see e.g. P. Ant. I 42.22-23 (542), PSI X 1122.27-30 (VI), P. Lond. V 1774.12-14 (570).

*ταῦτα* probably refers both to the main bulk of the wine and to the 'expenses of the vintage'.

36 *ἀρχοντικῆς δ[ι]ώρυκος* (i. *διώρυχος* or *διώρυγος*). Probably the same as the *διόρυγος* τοῦ *ἄρχοντος* mentioned in XVI 2035 12 (VI), but nothing more is known of it.

39 *Μάρκος*. A notary called Marcus is known from 1979 (614), cf. J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften* 83, Taf. 44, but the Greek subscription also in his name does not look very like the writing here.

It is perhaps surprising that there is no notarial signature to this document; in spite of the subscription and endorsement it may be simply a file copy and not an original. There is a depth of c. 6 cm of blank papyrus below line 40 and the lower edge appears to be intact.

T. GAGOS

## V. ASTRONOMICAL TEXTS

Numbers in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* series have been allocated in advance to the items listed below, which have been edited by Professor Alexander Jones of the University of Toronto for publication elsewhere.

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**4143** Instructions for tables (*Handy Tables?*) 96/69(b)  
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**4147** Procedure text 103/40(c)
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**4149** Epochs, moon, AD 96-103 93/Dec 11/C.3 + /E.7  
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- 4168** Ptolemy, *Handy Tables*
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**4170** Ptolemy, *Handy Tables* 93/Dec. 8/B1  
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 βασιλεύς 4096<sup>10</sup> 21  
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 Βοιωτία 4096<sup>10</sup> 17  
 Βουκολ- [4097<sup>2</sup> 3?]  
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 γάρ 4096<sup>11</sup> 12, 23 2?, 34 3  
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 γεννάν 4096<sup>10</sup> 18  
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- δε 4096<sup>1</sup> 6, 7, 10, [2 i 15, 8 8], 10 9, 17, 19, [20], 23,  
 11 7, 9, 14, [24 2=53 3?], [61 1?, 64 1?] 4098 5  
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 Δίκη 4099 i 5  
 Διομήδης [4099 i 4]  
 διος [4096<sup>10</sup> 12]  
 διφυής 4098 8  
 Δόλοψ [4097<sup>2</sup> 5]  
 Δρύας [4097<sup>2</sup> 6]  
 δρῦς [4096<sup>24</sup> 4?]
- εἶκος 4096<sup>1</sup> 7, 10 17  
 Έέρση [4099 i 7?]  
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 εἶναι 4096<sup>10</sup> 13, [20?] [4098 8]  
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 εἰς 4096<sup>1</sup> [11], 2 13  
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 εκ 4096<sup>10</sup> 7, 13 4097<sup>1</sup> 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 7 1?  
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 ελαύνειν 4096<sup>10</sup> 12  
 Έλαφηβολιών [4096<sup>2</sup> i 7?]  
 ελαφηβόλος [4096<sup>2</sup> i 13]  
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 Έλένα [4099 i 19?]  
 Έλική 4096<sup>3</sup> 8  
 Έλικώνιος 4096<sup>3</sup> 4, [11]

## II. MYTHOGRAPHIC TEXTS

- ελκειν [4096<sup>3</sup> 4]  
 εμφόνοι 4096<sup>1</sup> 5  
 εν 4096<sup>8</sup> 6, 10 16, [11 14] [4099 i 13?]  
 ενθενδε 4096<sup>5</sup> i 8  
 εντευθεν 4096<sup>2</sup> i 11, [10 8]  
 εοικέναι 4096<sup>14</sup> 8?  
 επιγονος [4099 i 1?]  
 επιτρέχειν 4096<sup>45</sup> 2?  
 επιόχεσθαι [4096<sup>5</sup> i 14]  
 επτά 4096<sup>1</sup> 13 [4099 i 1]  
 εράν 4096<sup>10</sup> 14, [11 10–11]  
 ερεύεσθαι [4096<sup>3</sup> 3 (bis)]  
 Έρινός 4096<sup>10</sup> 15  
 Έρμής [4096<sup>11</sup> 14] [4097<sup>3</sup> 5?]  
 Έρση [4099 i 7?]  
 Έρύθεια 4099 i 12  
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 Έυμεινίδες 4099 i 10  
 Έννομή 4099 i 5  
 Ένυάλη 4099 i 9  
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 εὔσκοπος [4096<sup>11</sup> 9]  
 Έδφρα- 4099 i 8?  
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 εἶχειν 4096<sup>1</sup> 5, 13
- Ζεύς 4096<sup>2</sup> ii 9, 10, 11 10 [4097<sup>1</sup> 8?]  
 ζηλ- 4099 i 18  
 ζῶμα 4096<sup>11</sup> 3?  
 ζῶον 4096<sup>5</sup> i 12
- η 4097<sup>2</sup> 3?  
 η̄περ 4097<sup>2</sup> 3?  
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- Θαλίη [4099 i 6]  
 Θεία [4099 i 10]  
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 Θέτις [4096<sup>8</sup> 8]  
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 Θηρεός 4097<sup>1</sup> 1  
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 θυμός [4096<sup>3</sup> 2]
- Ίάκων 4097<sup>1</sup> 3, 6 4?  
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- ιδρύειν [4096<sup>3</sup> 10]  
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 Ίόλαος 4097<sup>1</sup> 4  
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 Ίππος 4096<sup>10</sup> [12–13], 15, 18  
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 Ίφικλος 4097<sup>1</sup> 5  
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- και 4096<sup>1</sup> 8, 2 i 10, 12, [3 2, 7, 9, 10], 5 i 13, [15],  
 11 12 4097<sup>1</sup> 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 2 6, [7?], [7 1?]  
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 Κρέατος 4098 6  
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 Λυκοῦργος [4096<sup>9</sup> 3?]
- Μαῖα 4096<sup>11</sup> 11  
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<sup>53</sup> 3<sup>2</sup>], [<sup>61</sup> 1<sup>2</sup>, <sup>64</sup> 1<sup>2</sup>]  
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Πρίακος **4097**<sup>1</sup> 10?  
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 στέλλειν [**4096**<sup>3</sup> 6]  
 στρατηγ[ **4096**<sup>1</sup> 4  
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 Ξωκράτης [**4096**<sup>2</sup> i 15]  
 Ξωφρο[ **4096**<sup>11</sup> 12

ταῦρος [**4096**<sup>3</sup> 3]  
 τάχυς [**4096**<sup>10</sup> 12]  
 τε **4096**<sup>3</sup> 7, [<sup>24</sup> 4<sup>2</sup>]  
 Τηθύς [**4099** i 9]  
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 τυγχά[ν- **4096**<sup>26</sup> 3  
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 υίός **4098** 5 [**4099** i 1<sup>2</sup>]  
 ύπο[ **4096**<sup>2</sup> ii 8  
 ύψικάρηνος [**4096**<sup>24</sup> 4<sup>2</sup> = <sup>53</sup> 5<sup>2</sup>]

φάναι **4096**<sup>5</sup> i 13  
 Φάρσαλος **4096**<sup>10</sup> 7  
 (-)φευγ- **4099** i 25  
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 Φοίβη [**4099** i 10]  
 Φοίνιξ **4098** 5  
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 Φυλάκη **4097**<sup>1</sup> 5  
 Φύλακος [**4097**<sup>1</sup> 5<sup>2</sup>]  
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 Φώκος **4096**<sup>1</sup> 9 **4097**<sup>1</sup> 10

χαρίζεσθαι **4096**<sup>8</sup> 9  
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Ψκεανός [**4096**<sup>1</sup> 12–13]  
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 ώς [**4096**<sup>3</sup> 3, <sup>24</sup> 4<sup>2</sup>]

### III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

#### ANTONINUS PIUS

Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αίλιος Αδριανός Αντωνίνος  
 Σεβαστός Εδσεβής **4113** 6–9 (oath formula), 23–5  
 (year 2)

#### DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN

(year 2 and 1: no titulature) **4120** 6  
 (year 3 and 2: no titulature) (**4120** 23)  
 Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γάιος Αύρηλιος Ουαλέριος  
 Διοκλητιανός Γερμανικός Μέγιστος και Αυτοκράτωρ  
 Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αύρηλιος Ουαλέριος Μαξιμιανός  
 Εδσεβείς Εδτυχείς Σεβαστοί (year 3 and 2) **4120**  
 34–7

#### DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN AUGUSTI, CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS CAESARS

οι κύριοι ήμών Διοκλητιανός και Μαξιμιανός Σεβαστοί  
 και Κωνσταντίος και Μαξιμιανός οι επιφανέστατοι  
 Καίσαρες (year 21 and 13) **4122** 20–22  
 (year 6 and 5: no titulature) (**4122** 26)

#### GALERIUS AND MAXIMINUS

(year 16 and 4, titulature lost) **4123** 8

#### CONSTANTINE, LICINIUS, AND CAESARS

(year 16, 14 and 6: no titulature) **4125** 22

#### CONSTANTIUS AUGUSTUS AND JULIAN CAESAR

(year 34 and 3: no titulature) **4129** 15 **4130** 17

#### HERACLIUS

ο θειώτατος και εδσεβέστατος ήμών δεσπότης μέγιστος  
 εδεργέτης Φλάουιος Ήράκλειος ο αιώνιος Αβγουστος  
 και Αυτοκράτωρ (year 9) **4132** 3–6

#### GORDIAN III

Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αντώνιος Γορδιανός  
 Εδσεβής Εδτυχής Σεβαστός (year 3) **4117** 21–3

(year 6 and 5: no titulature) (**4121** 7)

Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γάιος Αύρηλιος Ουαλέριος  
 Διοκλητιανός και Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος  
 Αύρηλιος Ουαλέριος Μαξιμιανός Γερμανικοί  
 Μέγιστοι Εδσεβείς Εδτυχείς Σεβαστοί (year 6 and  
 5) **4121** 25–9

## IV. CONSULS

AD 305 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καίσαρων τὸ ε' **4122** 1-2  
 AD 318 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Κρίστου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α' **4124** i 1-3, ii 1-3  
 AD 322 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β', τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ β' **4125** i [1-3], ii 1-3

AD 346 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ δ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ γ' τῶν Αὐγούστων **4128** 1-2  
 AD 358 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ ἕνατον καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β'' **4129** 1-4  
 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ θ' καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β'' **4130** 1-3

## V. INDICTIONS

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 7th indiction **4132** 7, [23] (=AD 618/9)

8th indiction **4132** 24 (=AD 619/620)

## VI. MONTHS

Ἀδριανός **4113** 25

Ἐπιφάνης **4117** 7

Θωβί **4128** 2 **4131** 2

Μεσορή **4132** 22

Μεχέρ **4121** 19

Παῦνι **4122** 22, 26

Παχὼν **4120** 7 **4124** i 13, ii 13 **4125** 21 **4129** 4 **4130** 4 **4132** 7

Τῶβι **4117** 23 **4120** 38 **4121** 18 **4132** 30

Φαρμοῦθι **4121** 20 **4125** [4], 12

Φαῶφι **4115** 4

Χοιάκ [4120] 23]

## VII. DATES

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4 January 240 **4117** 21-3

26 April-25 May 286 **4120** 6-7

27 November-26 December 286 [4120] 23]

1 January 287 **4120** 34-8

29 August 289-10 January 290 **4121** 25-9

22 June 305 **4122** 20-22, 26

307/8 (month and day lost) **4123** 8

26 April-25 May 318 **4124** i 1-3 plus 13, ii 1-3 plus 13

29 March 322 **4125** 1-4, 10-12

27 April 322 **4125** 21-2

24 September 346 **4128** 1-2

11 May 358 **4129** 1-4 **4130** 1-4?

18? September 600 **4131** 2-3

2 May 619 **4132** 3-7

## VIII. PERSONAL NAMES

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Ἄλιος *see* Index III s.v. Antoninus Pius

Ἄμμων *see* Ἀυρήλιος Ἄμμων

Ἄμμωνίς in charge of tunics in Mermertha, s. of Serapion **4128** 24

Ἄμοις f. of Aurelius Thonius ἐκβολεύς of Muchinaxap **4129** 20 **4130** 23

Ἄνανις **4123** 1

Ἄνικητος s. of Horus **4128** 16

Ἄνοπν νοτάριος **4131** 29

Ἄντωνίνος *see* Index III s.v. Antoninus Pius

Ἄντωνίος patron of Aurelius Apollonius **4120** 5; *see also* Index III s.v. Gordian III

Ἄπιων *see* Φλάουίος Ἄπιων

Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Aurelius Apollonius gymnasiarch, councillor, superintendent of the public dykes **4129** 5 **4130** 5; *see also* Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος

Ἀπφοῦς *see* Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπφοῦς

Ἀράχθης f. of Copreus in charge of tunics in Mermertha **4128** 25

Ἀρτεμίδωρος f. of Panechotes field guard of Mermertha **4128** 20

Ἀσκληπιάδης f. of Aurelius Hierax **4122** 4, 23; *see also* Ἀυρήλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης

Ἄρτης s. of Paysiris **4115** 3

Ἀἴγουστος *see* Index III s.v. Heraclius, IV s.v. AD 346, AD 358

Ἀυρηλία Ἡρακλειδίανα, *matrona stolata*, d. of Aurelius Heraclides late councillor of Alexandria **4121** [1-2], 29-30

Ἀυρήλιος **4129** 18 **4130** 21; *see also* Index III s.v. Diocletian and Maximian

Ἀυρήλιος Ἄμμων, s. of Theon **4124** i 6, ii 6

Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος freedman of Antonius **4120** 4, 38

Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος gymnasiarch, councillor, superintendent of the public dykes **4129** 5 **4130** 5

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matrona stolata

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| P. Flor. I 65.17–18 | <b>4132</b> 30–34 n. | PSI I 35         | <b>4118</b> 1 n.           |
| VII 1054, 1055      | <b>4118</b> 1 n.     |                  |                            |



ΕΝΕΣΘΑΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ  
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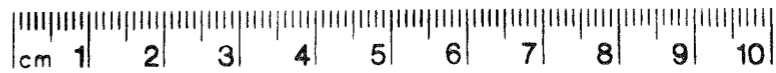
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Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with several lines of text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is significantly obscured by numerous holes and tears in the material. Some legible characters include 'ΑΝ', 'ΠΡΟΔΗΛ', and 'ΕΣΤΙΝ'.

4094 184-198



Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with several lines of text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is significantly obscured by numerous holes and tears in the material. Some legible characters include 'ΚΕ', 'ΠΕΡΙΔΕΚΑ', 'ΕΣΤΙΝ', and 'ΕΡΕΥΝΑ'.

4094 199-218

Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with several lines of text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is significantly obscured by numerous holes and tears in the material. Some legible characters include 'ΚΕ', 'ΕΣΤΙΝ', 'ΕΡΕΥΝΑ', and 'ΕΡΕΥΝΑ'.

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ΘΕΝΑ... ΔΑΝ...  
 ΛΑΒΑ... ΧΑΡ...  
 ΔΟΣ... ΕΧ...  
 ΠΡΑ... Τ...  
 Λ... Ε...  
 Τ... Δ...  
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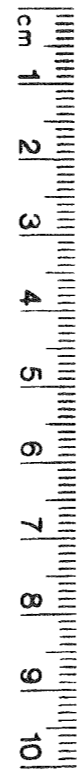


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